

VOLUME XXIX

January, 1961

NUMBER 1

# HISPANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN  
THE HISPANIC LANGUAGES & LITERATURES



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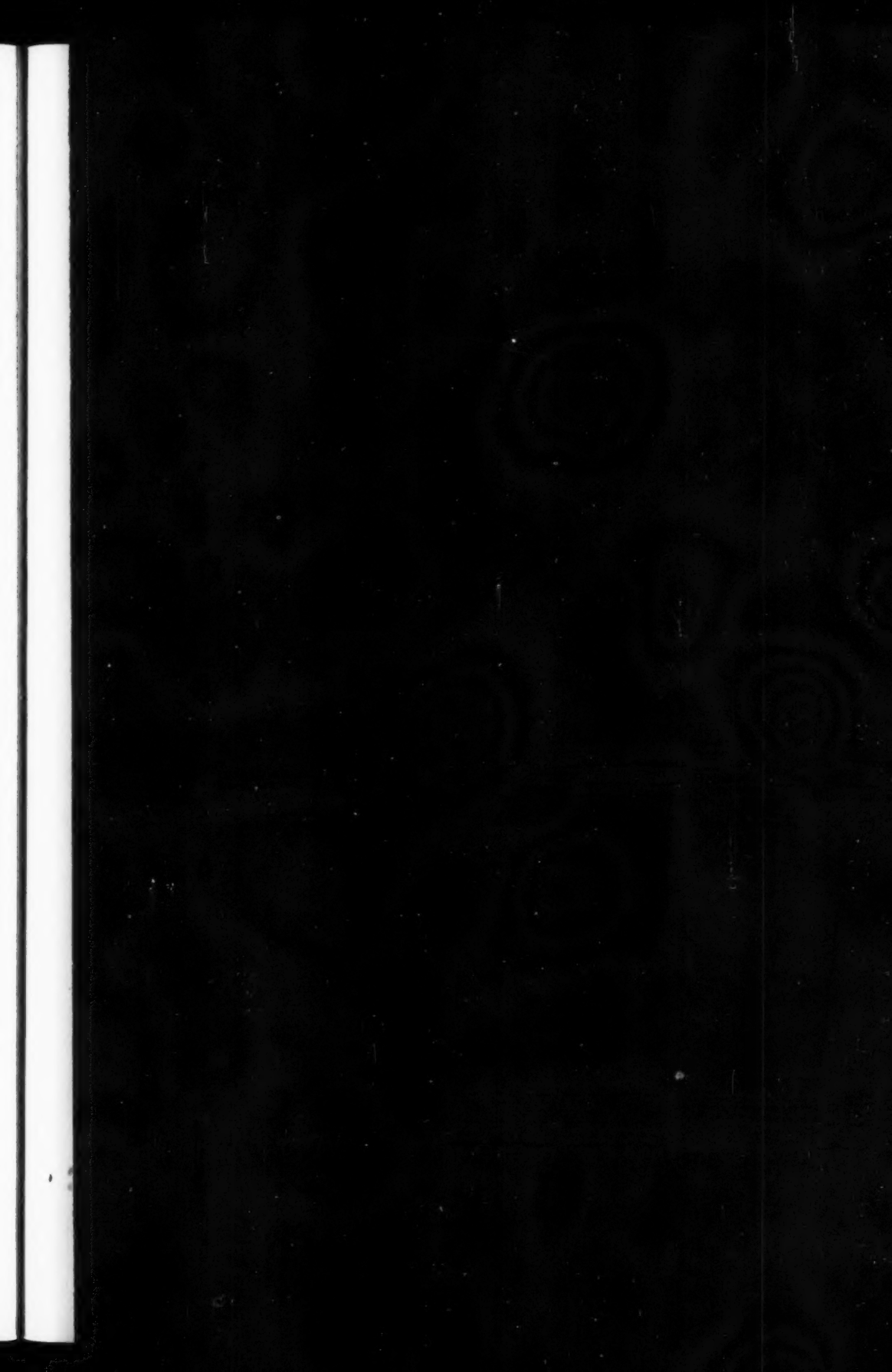
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VOLUME XXIX      JANUARY, 1961      NUMBER 1

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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1961

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The subscription price of the *Hispanic Review* is \$7.50 a year; single issue, \$2.00.

Articles (accompanied by stamped return envelope), editorial communications, and proof should be addressed to the Editors, *Hispanic Review*, College Hall; subscriptions and business communications to Mrs. Brigitte Niederrenk, *Hispanic Review*, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Contributors are requested to follow the *MLA Style Sheet*, published in *PMLA*, LXVI, No. 3 (April, 1951), 3-31. Reprints are obtainable upon request.

Entered as second-class matter December 21, 1934, at the post office at Lancaster, Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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# HISPANIC REVIEW

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Hispanic Languages and Literatures

VOLUME XXIX

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## SOBRE EL CARTUJANO Y SUS CRÍTICOS \*

“**H**OMERO y Dante español” llama don Miguel del Riego<sup>1</sup> al Cartujano en la portada de su edición de *Los doce triunfos de los doce apóstoles* (Londres, 1841). Ha sido fácil a la crítica posterior señalar la exageración del canónigo de Oviedo y rebatir sus afirmaciones.<sup>2</sup> Sin embargo, cuando Riego llama Homero y Dante al Cartujano, apenas hace otra cosa que calificar y deslindar el carácter esencial de su producción: Padilla es, como Homero, un poeta heroico y, como Dante, un poeta cristiano y alegórico;<sup>3</sup> sus *Doce triunfos*, en fin, son un “poema heroico

\* With the support of a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

<sup>1</sup> Don Miguel del Riego, canónigo de Oviedo, era hermano del famoso general Rafael del Riego. Emigró de España con el grupo del 23 y vivió en Inglaterra hasta su muerte, 1846. Véase Vicente Llorens, *Liberales y románticos* (México, 1954), págs. 46-53.

<sup>2</sup> José Amador de los Ríos, “Los doce triunfos del Cartujano, poema místico del siglo XVII” (sic), *Diario de Literatura y Artes*, Sevilla, 13 de abril de 1843; “Don Juan de Padilla.—Los doce triunfos de los apóstoles,” *Revista literaria de el español*, 27 de octubre de 1845, pág. 1; *Historia crítica de la literatura española* (Madrid, 1865), VII, 266, n. 1; Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos* (Madrid, 1896), VI, cexliv; Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *A History of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1898), pág. 119; Juan Hurtado y Angel González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura española* (Madrid, 1925), pág. 205.

<sup>3</sup> Ya se sabe que nada tienen de rigurosas estas convencionales alabanzas. *El laurel de Apolo* llama a Baltasar Porreño “Tulio español, Demóstenes cristiano,” y a los hermanos Argensola “españoles Horacios y Propercios,” Tirso es “un Terencio español,” y Quevedo “Lipsio de España en prosa y Juvenal en verso” (Londres, 1824, págs. 25, 53, 117, 155). Es fácil encontrar

cristiano.”<sup>4</sup> De esta manera lo entiende Amador de los Ríos cuando, tras impugnar la calificación de Riego, afirma que “no se propuso [el Cartujano] en modo alguno escribir una epopeya”;<sup>5</sup> pero aun así lo que ha visto especialmente es lo exagerado de la calificación y la posibilidad de que la exageración misma perjudique al buen nombre del poeta. Sus afirmaciones, recogidas por la crítica posterior y aceptadas sin examen ni contraste, fueron fatales para Riego. Y desde entonces es frecuente encontrar las mismas diatribas y casi con las mismas palabras en muchos de los críticos que se han ocupado del Cartujano.<sup>6</sup>

Lo cierto es que fue don Miguel del Riego quien, en Londres y en 1841, sacó *Los doce triunfos* “de las tinieblas del olvido en que estuvo sepultado por más de trescientos años” (portada). Y con sus palabras mal entendidas, y en parte sin proponérselo, llamó notablemente la atención sobre un poeta al que la crítica venía, desde hacía mucho tiempo, descuidando.<sup>7</sup>

La primera alusión<sup>8</sup> a la obra del Cartujano se encuentra en multitud de ejemplos parecidos que indican la vigencia de una figura retórica. Para Juan de Robles, *El culto sevillano*, Francisco Pacheco es “nuestro Apeles sevillano,” fray Luis de Granada el “Cicerón cristiano,” Juan de Mariana el “Tito Livio nuestro,” don Antonio de Fuenmayor el “Salustio español” (edición de Sevilla, 1883, págs. 29, 152).

<sup>4</sup> “Poema heroico cristiano *del Homero y Dante español*” dice Riego en la portada ya citada.

<sup>5</sup> En el artículo citado de la *Revista literaria de el español*, pág. 1. Inmediatamente añade: “ni el Cartujano intentó dar a los *Doce Triunfos* la extensión que requiere la epopeya, ni hubiese tal vez podido sujetarse a llenar todas las condiciones del poema de Homero y de Virgilio.” Termina diciendo: “el hecho es que su poema no puede considerarse como épico y que al designarle con los nombres arriba indicados se incurre en una inexactitud notable.”

<sup>6</sup> Menéndez Pelayo, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Hurtado y Palencia, etc. Obras y páginas citadas en la nota 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ya Amador de los Ríos, en el artículo anteriormente citado, había señalado la importancia de la edición de Riego, y había manifestado su “gratitud al Sr. D. Miguel del Riego, actual canónigo de Oviedo, que en el pasado año de 1841 ha dado a luz en Londres los *Doce triunfos de los apóstoles*, rescatando así del olvido un nombre tan apreciable como el de don Juan de Padilla” (pág. 5).

<sup>8</sup> Luis Usoz, en el Prólogo de su edición del *Cancionero de obras de burlas provocantes a risa* (1519 ?), Madrid, 1841 (?), págs. xxxiv-xxxvii, dedica varios párrafos al Cartujano, pensando que es a él a quien se refiere en la dedicatoria el desconocido autor de la *Carajicomedia* cuando dice: “Como un

*La vida y la muerte* de fray Francisco de Ávila, 1508. El autor, después de hablarnos del inmenso poder de la muerte y de lo inevitable de su llegada, hace una prolija enumeración de las figuras más importantes de su tiempo: reyes, príncipes, prelados, caballeros, predicadores, maestros, poetas. Entre los nombres de los poetas se intercala la referencia al *Retablo*, obra anónima y recién publicada: "De Guevara ya no hablo,/ Garcí-Sánchez especial,/ Cartagena y el *Retablo*/ Y Díaz su fraternal/ Tovieron gran natural./ Y Sampedro bien entero,/ Y el honrado caballero/ Garcí-López Carvajal."<sup>9</sup> El *Libro de la celestial jerarchía y infernal labirintho*, escrito entre 1520 y 1530<sup>10</sup> por autor desconocido,<sup>11</sup> alude también al Cartujano. Nos dice en la dedicatoria que

día, entre otros muchos oradores, me hallase en la copiosa librería del Señor Sant Estravagante, donde al presente resido, leyendo unos sermones del devoto padre Fray Bugeo Montesino, hallé la presente obra que este Reverendo Padre copiló para su recreación, después que correjó el Cartuxano." El Cartujano aquí aludido debe ser Landulfo de Sajonia, traducido y corregido por fray Ambrosio Montesino (probablemente el fray Bugeo satirizado en la dedicatoria) autor también de sermones.

Probablemente el beato Juan de Avila se refiere a Dionisio Cartujano cuando afirma: "Los libros que vuestra merced pregunta me parece que le convienen: *Confesiones* de santo Agustín y *Meditaciones Morales* de San Gregorio, *Summa mysteriorum fidei* de Titelman, y el Cartujano." Téngase en cuenta que con frecuencia recomienda sus libros: "Cuanto a lo segundo . . . vea a San Gregorio . . . y a Laurencio Justiniano . . . a Dionisio Cartusiano." (*Obras completas del Beato Maestro Juan de Avila*, edición de Luis Sala Balust [Madrid, 1952], págs. 766 y 1003).

Lo mismo sucede posiblemente con Juan de Valdés cuando, en el *Diálogo de la lengua* (ed. Montesinos [Madrid, 1953], pág. 172) hace decir a Pacheco: "Pues yo me maravillo mucho de vos que digáis que de los libros romançados os contentan esos dos, aviendo tanta muchedumbre dellos muy buenos, como son: devotos, las *Epístolas* y *Evangelios del año*, los Cartuxanos, las *Epístolas* de Santa Catalina de Sena, San Juan Climaco."

<sup>9</sup> Fray Francisco de Ávila, *La vida y la muerte* (Salamanca, 1508), selección en el *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos* de Bartolomé José Gallardo (Madrid, 1863), I, 343.

<sup>10</sup> Se desconoce el lugar y el año de la edición. Se ha venido dando como fechas aproximadas los años de 1521 y 1530. Lo único seguro, y esto porque lo declara el autor en el prólogo, es que todavía vivía el Cartujano y que Garcí-Sánchez de Badajoz ya se había vuelto loco. "Pues por estos desatinos," se dice de Garcí-Sánchez, "está ahora loco en cadenas."

<sup>11</sup> También por el prólogo se deduce que era religioso de la orden de los mínimos. *La celestial jerarchía* está dedicada a don Juan de la Cerda, duque

aún vivía entonces Juan de Padilla, y que su obra, el *Retablo*, guarda cierta relación con el *Vita Christi* de Landulfo de Sajonia: "Aún en nuestros tiempos bive un devoto religioso cartuxano que no con infrutuoso trabajo ni falta de elegancia castellana escribió el *Vita Christi* en verso eroyco,<sup>12</sup> grave,<sup>13</sup> difuso,<sup>14</sup> el qual Laudul-

de Medinaceli; Manuel de Montolú se confunde cuando afirma: "Citaremos de paso a Juan de la Cerda, autor de otro poema dantesco: *Libro de la celestial jerarquía y infernal Laberinto, metrificado en verso heroico grave.*" *Manual de literatura castellana* (Barcelona, 1930), pág. 170.

<sup>12</sup> Considerando la forma estrófica se ha entendido por verso heroico al verso suelto. "Llámanse versos heroicos aquellos, con que se celebran las hazañas de los varones ilustres. Y aunque éstas se pueden, y suelen celebrar en octavas y tercetos y en otros géneros de metros, pero porque los versos sueltos son más semejantes a los heroicos latinos y más libres para decir cualquier cosa; y porque las historias latinas escritas en versos heroicos, se traducen en éstos, con mucha razón tienen como por excelencia nombre de heroicos" (Juan Díaz BENGIFO, *Arte poética española* [Barcelona 1, 1726?], pág. 84).

Considerando el número de sílabas se han dividido los autores. Para unos, defensores de las formas métricas tradicionales frente a las italianas, era el verso de doce sílabas ("Torno, pues, al metro castellano de doce sílabas, a éste diría yo verso o metro heroico de mejor gana y con más justa razón que no al italiano endecasílabo suelto que se ha alzado con nombre de verso heroico" (Alonso López Pinciano, *Filosofía antigua poética* [Valladolid, 1894], pág. 282). "El verso de a 12 sílabas que llaman de *arte-mayor*, i era el heroico i grave . . ." (Gonzalo Correas, *Arte grande de la lengua castellana* [Madrid, 1903], pág. 290). Para otros, opinión que al fin ha prevalecido, es el endecasílabo. "Es [el endecasílabo] verso graue, lleno, capaz de todo ornamento y figura, y finalmente, entre todos géneros de versos le podemos llamar Heroyco" (Gonzalo Argote de Molina, *Discurso sobre la poesía castellana*, ed. Eleuterio F. Tiscornia [Madrid, 1926], pág. 43). "O verso italiano que chamao heroico de heros, que quer dizer meio deus, e homem famoso, ou també porque neste verso se costumao cantar as cousas diuinas e famosas, ha de ter onze syllabas" (Philippe Nunes, *Arte poética e da pintura* [Lisboa, 1615]). "Por verso heroico se entiende entre griegos y latinos el hexámetro, que como dice Aristóteles, es el que la experiencia misma ha hecho conocer por más propio para los asuntos épicos, por ser el más grave, más sonoro y más armonioso de todos. En las lenguas vulgares el verso hexámetro responde al endecasílabo" (Ignacio de Luzán, *Poética* [Madrid], II, 262).

Verso heroico aquí, pues, significa verso de doce sílabas; y, naturalmente, al mismo tiempo verso "con que se celebran las hazañas de los varones ilustres."

<sup>13</sup> El adjetivo "grave" se usa en los siglos XVI y XVII como sinónimo de noble, grande, alto, sonoro. Creemos que así debe interpretarse aquí. Juan

pho monje de su orden con orden divinal avie copilado latino" (dedicatoria); relación, por otra parte, que el mismo Padilla había destacado en la introducción con que encabeza su *Retablo*: "Así hace Santo Tomás en su *Catena aurea* y Lodulpho Cartujano, el qual más que otro ninguno compiló muy altamente la vida de Cristo, según fue aprobado en el Concilio de Basilea. Estos doctores han sido muy familiares al autor en esta obra" (prólogo). "Fraile cartujo" es la denominación tras la cual se oculta el autor en el *Retablo*; en los *Triunfos*, unos veinte años después y seguro ya de su obra, prefiere llamarse "el Cartujano." El *Libro de la celestial jerarquía* no revela el secreto. Faria y Sousa,<sup>15</sup> a mediados del XVII, busca en vano el nombre y se lamenta de la incuria de los críticos anteriores que tan lastimosamente permitieron que se perdiera. Cree que de la última estrofa<sup>16</sup> de ocho versos del *Retablo* puede inferirse que fueron las normas de la cartuja la

de Robles, en su libro *El culto sevillano*, ed. cit., pág. 226, habla de sonidos humildes, graves y medianos. ("Porque la *i* y la *u* se tienen *por* humildes, por su menor sonido; y la *a* y la *o* graves, por su sonoridad, y la *e* por mediana. . . .") Habla también de palabras graves ("que significan cosas altas"), de estilo grave ("que es el extremo opuesto del pesado . . . se compone de vocablos propios, significativos y graves con largos discursos y profundidad de pensamiento y sentencias, y mucha majestad," pág. 228). El Broicense se refiere también a las palabras graves ("Una poesía heroica como ésta [la de Mena], para su gravedad tiene necesidad de usar de palabras y de sentencias graves y antiguas para levantar el estilo," [*Las obras del famoso Juan de Mena*, Madrid, 1804, Prólogo]); lo mismo hace Juan de Jáuregui, *Discurso poético* (1624; ed. Antonio Pérez Gómez [Valencia, 1957], pág. 27). Gonzalo Correas se refiere al verso identificándolo con el de doce sílabas. En él "heroico" y "grave" parecen sinónimos ("El verso de a doce sílabas que llaman de arte-mayor, i era el heroico i grave," op. cit., pág. 290).

<sup>14</sup> No he podido encontrar textos que documenten o expliquen el adjetivo. Para nosotros significa verso dilatado, amplio.

<sup>15</sup> *Comentarios a las "Rimas varias" de Luis de Camoens* (Lisboa, 1688), IV, 82.

<sup>16</sup>

DON religioso la regla me puso,  
 JURado con voto canónico puro,  
 ANte su vista me hallo seguro  
 DE la tormenta del mundo confuso.  
 PAREce por ende mi nombre recluso,  
 DIgno lector, si lo vas inquiriendo;  
 LLAMa, si quieres, mi nombre, diciendo:  
 MONGE CARTUJO la obra compuso.

causa del anonimato, sin reparar que precisamente en esa estrofa viene en acróstico el nombre del autor.<sup>17</sup> A partir de Nicolás Antonio se conoce el nombre del Cartujano.

Don Juan de Padilla era sevillano, como se desprende de algunos de sus versos.<sup>18</sup> Joven todavía, profesó en la cartuja. Vivió durante mucho tiempo en la de Santa María de las Cuevas, Sevilla, y parece ser que ocupó puestos bastante altos dentro de su orden.<sup>19</sup> Escribió tres obras extensas. La primera, perdida, sólo la conocemos por las referencias de algunos bibliógrafos que aluden siempre a la descripción de Denis, al parecer el único que la vio.<sup>20</sup> Su título, *El laberinto del duque de Cádiz don Rodrigo Ponce de León*, nos hace pensar que acaso imitara a Mena. El libro se publicó en Sevilla el año 1493.

El 24 de diciembre de 1500 termina de escribir Juan de Padilla el *Retablo del Cartujo sobre la vida de Nuestro Señor*, y el 5 de marzo de 1505 se termina de imprimir en Sevilla, en la imprenta de Jacobo Cromberger. En la obra se "describe" la vida de Cristo, la de la Virgen y la de San Juan Bautista, "padre gracioso de los cartujos" (prólogo). Padilla, visualizando el poema y utilizando una técnica descriptivo-pictórica que está en relación

<sup>17</sup> Es curioso observar que la edición de Sevilla, de 1580, añade al margen de la copla: "En las primeras sílabas de esta copla dize don Juan de Padilla que es el nombre propio del autor."

<sup>18</sup> "Yo te suplico, me digas tu nombre,/Porque yo quede del todo contento./El me repuso con gran sentimiento:/Si digo mi nombre, seré conocido/Por ende serás mucho más afligido;/Siendo muy cerca de tu nacimiento,/No mucho distante de Julia nacido." (Triunfo IX, cap. iii, X.)

<sup>19</sup> Dice fray Martín Sarmiento (*Memorias para la historia de la poesía y poetas españoles* [Madrid, 1775], I, 384): "Es el P. D. Juan de Padilla, Prior de la Cartuja de Aniago, y Visitador General de la Corona de Aragón."

<sup>20</sup> "El laberinto del duque de Cádiz D. Rodrigo Ponce de León. -Sevilla, Men. Ungut y Stanislao Polono, 1493. 4-18 hjs foliadas: (i)-sign. ab. -a dos columnas. -letra gótica. port. El laberinto del duque de Cádiz Don Rodrigo Ponce de León.-fo ij. : Las ciento y cinquenta del laberinto compuestas por Fray Juan de Padilla: Cartuxo; antes que religioso fuese.-al fin: Aquí se acaban las ciento y cinquenta coplas por fray Juan de Padilla cartuxo, profeso de las Cuevas de Seuilla. Impressas en Seuilla en el año de mill e quatrocientos e nouenta y tres: por Meinardo Ungut e Lancalao Polono." En Conrado Haebler, *Bibliografía ibérica del siglo XV* (La Haya y Leipzig, 1903), pág. 241.

con las artes plásticas de la época,<sup>21</sup> trata de pintar un retablo: "un excelente retablo cuadrado, / en quatro tablas diviso: labrado, / demás de pincel, de masonería" (Tabla I, Cántico II, Copla V). El *Retablo*, como el mismo Padilla nos explica, se divide en cuatro *tablas* que corresponden a los cuatro evangelios, a los que se atiende en general, aunque acude con frecuencia a historias piadosas tradicionalmente aceptadas por la Iglesia y sus doctores, y rechaza las falsas y apócrifas. Las *tablas* se dividen, a su vez, en *cánticos*, "por cumplir el dicho del profeta David: *Cantate Domino canticum novum*" (prólogo). Cada *cántico* está formado por una serie variable de estrofas de ocho versos de arte mayor, serie que termina siempre en una estrofa de once octosílabos. La primera *tabla*, que comienza con los anuncios de los profetas y que llega hasta el bautismo de Cristo, consta de veintiocho *cánticos*; la segunda llega hasta la resurrección de Lázaro, "Dominica in Passione," y consta de dieciséis *cánticos*; la *tabla* tercera termina en el momento en que Cristo es sepultado, y está formada por once *cánticos* y siete *lamentaciones*<sup>22</sup> y también por un capítulo en prosa que se intercala exactamente en el momento de la muerte de Cristo "en señal de mayor dolor" (Tabla III, Lamentación V) y que puede considerarse como una oración fúnebre. La *tabla* cuarta y última abarca desde la Resurrección hasta la subida a los cielos, y termina con una alusión al Juicio Final.<sup>23</sup> Consta de trece *cánticos*. A lo largo del *Retablo* Juan de Padilla nos advierte, a la manera de Santo Tomás, el lugar y los autores de donde proceden sus noticias. Y desde el principio nos avisa que es con el propio Santo Tomás y con Landulfo Cartujano con los que ha contraído una deuda mayor (prólogo). El *Retablo* fue reimpresso muchas veces a lo largo del XVI.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Angel Valbuena Prat señala este aspecto del poema del Cartujano: "La relación con los motivos plásticos es indudable, y a su poema de la *Vida de Cristo* le llama *Retablo* construyéndolo como una sucesión de tablas ordenadas a la manera de los altares de la época del "plateresco" (*Historia de la literatura española* [Barcelona, 1953], I, 347).

<sup>22</sup> Al hablar de la pasión de Cristo, Padilla sustituye el nombre de *cánticos* por el de *lamentaciones*.

<sup>23</sup> Episodio en el que se puede notar la influencia de Dante en el *Retablo*.

<sup>24</sup> Sevilla, 1505; Sevilla, 1512; Sevilla, 1513; Sevilla, 1516; Sevilla, 1518; Sevilla, 1528; † 1529; Sevilla, 1530; Alcalá de Henares, 1543; † 1545; Toledo, 1565; Toledo, 1570; Alcalá de Henares, 1577; Sevilla, 1580; Valladolid,

El 14 de febrero ("día del mártir San Valentín"<sup>25</sup>) de 1518, terminaba don Juan de Padilla de componer *Los doce triunfos de los doce apóstoles*, que salían a la luz el 5 de octubre de 1521. El Cartujano se propone cantar los triunfos de los apóstoles,<sup>26</sup> describir el cielo y la tierra (el cielo siguiendo a Ptolomeo y la tierra según el tratado *De imagine mundi*<sup>27</sup>) y pintar los casos afortunados y desafortunados "de los pasados y vivos mortales" (I, i, 1). Para ello, a la manera de Dante, imagina un viaje en que, guiado por San Pablo, discurre a través del cielo y de la tierra. Divide el cielo en doce partes de acuerdo con los signos del zodiaco. Cada signo representa un apóstol. A cada una de estas divisiones celestes corresponde una serie de regiones y países en la tierra, los catequizados, precisamente, por el apóstol de que se trata. En un "hondo valle" se encuentran doce bocas infernales, que corresponden a las divisiones anteriores, en donde sufren tormento doce géneros de pecados. Doce viajes hace el Cartujano, cada uno en un día diferente; doce días que representan los doce meses del año. Durante el día, desde que sale el sol hasta que comienza a declinar, contempla las "cosas celestiales." Desde que el sol declina hasta que se pone, describe las "cosas terrenales"; y una vez puesto el sol, durante las tres primeras cuartas partes de la noche, describe las penas del purgatorio y del infierno. Por fin, durante el último cuarto, descansa. El poema, por lo tanto, se divide en doce partes: doce *triumfos*. Cada uno de éstos consta de una serie de *capítulos* cuyo número varía, y cada capítulo de una serie de estrofas de nueve versos de arte mayor.<sup>28</sup>

Faria y Sousa, al comentar las *Rimas* de Camoens, en 1639,<sup>29</sup> es el primero que intenta valorar, describir y calificar la obra del Cartujano. Comienza lamentando que su nombre permanezca desconocido, y afirma que, para él, es el poeta "que excede a 1582; Toledo, 1583; Sevilla, 1583; Toledo, 1585; Alcalá de Henares, 1586; Alcalá de Henares, 1593; Toledo, 1593; Alcalá de Henares, 1605.

<sup>25</sup> Así dice Padilla al terminar los *Triunfos*.

<sup>26</sup> Ya en el título puede verse la influencia de Petrarca.

<sup>27</sup> Véase el capítulo primero del libro de María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *Juan de Mena, poeta del prerrenacimiento español* (México, 1950).

<sup>28</sup> Cuatro ediciones se conocen de los *Triunfos*: Sevilla, 1521; Sevilla, 1529, ésta sólo por referencias; la de Riego, Londres, 1841, y la de Foulché-Delbosc, Madrid, 1912.

<sup>29</sup> Véase la nota 15.



todos" los que escribieron "poemas docta y felizmente" (pág. 82) tanto en Castilla como en Portugal, incluyendo precisamente a Juan de Mena. Describe después los *Triunfos de los apóstoles*, da la fecha de la primera edición con toda exactitud, y hace notar que las estrofas constan de nueve versos y no de ocho como las de Mena. Al calificar la obra afirma que "el furor poético es grande, la erudición mucha y exquisita, el estilo excelente" (loc. cit.). Se refiere, por último, al *Retablo* observando que sus estrofas son de ocho versos. Faria conoció sólo la edición de 1529 y por eso cree que el *Retablo* es posterior a los *Triunfos*.

Hasta 1672 no encontramos nuevas alusiones. Nicolás Antonio en su *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (Madrid, 1783, I, 151) coloca a Padilla entre los autores reseñados en orden alfabético. "Don Juan de Padilla," dice, "monje cartujo, escribió con un género de verso ya anticuado el *Retablo de la vida de Cristo*." Cita luego la edición de 1518, de Juan de Vela (Varela?), reseñada por Petreius. Después, en la parte que trata de las obras anónimas (II, 332), intercala de nuevo el *Retablo*, y otra vez se refiere a su forma anticuada, pero ahora habla de la edición de 1530 de Varela sin aludir a una anterior, presenta los *Triunfos* como obra probable del mismo anónimo cartujano, y cita la primera edición: la de Sevilla de 1521.

En el XVIII fray Martín Sarmiento se ocupa de la obra de don Juan de Padilla (op. cit. [n. 19], I, 384). Todas sus noticias son de segunda mano. Pedraza,<sup>30</sup> Faria y Nicolás Antonio son sus fuentes. Sarmiento no vio ninguna de las obras del Cartujano. Comienza dando algunos datos biográficos: fue Padilla prior de Aniago y Visitador General de Castilla; después algunos bibliográficos: fechas de impresión.

Es en el XIX cuando se vuelve con mayor interés a Padilla. Las dos primeras noticias las encontramos en 1841. Usoz y Río, en el prólogo de su edición del *Cancionero de obras de burlas provocantes a risa* (cfr. n. 8), dedica algunos párrafos a la obra (págs. xxxiv-xxxvii) del Cartujano, que califica de "bellísima imitación del poema de Dante" (xxxv) y es así el primero en establecer la relación entre los dos poetas. Describe el desarrollo de los *Triunfos* y se lamenta de que no hayan sido reimpresos.

<sup>30</sup> Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedad y excelencias de Granada* (Madrid, 1608), f. 114 b.

Sus afirmaciones son cálidas y juiciosas: "El Cartujano *imita* a Dante, pero *nunca* le copia." Añade: "Ninguna nación en 1521 puede presentar tan buen discípulo de Dante, como es el Cartujano" (xxxvii). El mismo año aparece la edición de Riego, que, como hemos dicho, consigue que el nombre y la obra de Juan de Padilla pasen a ocupar lugar preeminente en la crítica contemporánea.

Es a Amador de los Ríos a quien se debe el primer estudio detenido y atento de la obra de Padilla (efr. n. 2). Para Amador de los Ríos, en desacuerdo con Riego, Padilla ni es un Homero ni es un Dante. Y no lo es ni por la talla ni por el género literario en que escribe. Es, de acuerdo con Usoz, el mejor imitador de Dante, y a menudo sigue directamente a Virgilio. El Cartujano es un tradicionalista, continúa el crítico, defensor de las formas castellanas frente a las italianas; un precursor casi, aunque contemporáneo, de Castillejo, y muy especialmente un digno representante de la escuela docta sevillana, continuador de Imperial, Medina, Ribera y Lando. Su lenguaje es brillante y su dicción levantada. Giros poéticos y palabras gráficas y expresivas caracterizan su estilo. Es un espíritu fino y culto, italianizante y latinizante. Lo que hay en su obra de equivocado o defectuoso se debe a dos causas especiales: a su tendencia a mezclar lo dispar y a su gusto por lo exagerado. Mezcla lo mitológico y lo cristiano, y acepta toda clase de supersticiones. Exagera en las descripciones históricas y en las cosmográficas, exagera en sus tendencias cultistas, como anunciando—advierde el crítico—lo que más tarde habría de suceder en la poesía de Córdoba y Sevilla.

Ticknor no está muy de acuerdo con la valoración de Amador de los Ríos, aunque las noticias que da son casi las mismas.<sup>21</sup> Padilla, dice, imita a Dante sin éxito. Su *Retablo* es devoto y aburrido. Los *Triunfos*, aunque mejores, son "a mere succession of wild inconsistencies, and vague, unmeaning descriptions" (id.). En ellos todo se mezcla y se confunde: alegoría, mitología, astrología, historia. . . . No hay inspiración en el poema. Su estructura y sus detalles carecen de valor poético. A pesar de todo, Ticknor opina que el lenguaje y la versificación de Padilla merecen alabanza: el lenguaje, aunque arcaizante, es ágil y fuerte; y la versificación, para su tiempo, rica y fácil.

<sup>21</sup> *History of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1849), I, 414.

Eugène Baret repite los mismos cargos y los extiende, a veces, a toda la literatura española: intemperancia de imaginación, abuso de lo fantástico, olvido de la sana razón.<sup>32</sup>

En 1898, y ya después de los comentarios de Menéndez Pelayo, Fitzmaurice-Kelly insiste en esta posición. Lo único bueno de Padilla, afirma, son las descripciones del mundo de ultratumba; por lo demás su retórica está pasada de moda, su vocabulario abusa de lo sonoro y cae a menudo de lo altisonante a lo familiar; su dicción es, a veces, demasiado latinizante. Es, en suma, un poeta imitativo sin originalidad. Su *Retablo* una seca narración de la vida de Cristo, que si tuvo éxito fue por el asunto, y sus *Doce triunfos* una pretenciosa y complicada alegoría.

Muy distinta es la opinión de Sanvisenti,<sup>33</sup> cuatro años después. Certera y desapasionada es su crítica. El influjo de Dante en Padilla no es tan grande como se viene diciendo, advierte, pero aparece en toda su obra, y no sólo en sus *Triunfos*. En el *Retablo*, se adivina en la descripción del Juicio Final y de las penas de los condenados. Los *Triunfos* imitan el viaje de ultratumba; también algunas descripciones recuerdan a Dante, y por último, y principalmente, el deseo de revestir con nobleza la realidad histórica. Explica el modo como se establece esta influencia: contacto directo con la obra de Dante, pero sobre todo a través de Mena. Al mismo tiempo Sanvisenti acentúa con acierto la relación y la concordancia entre Padilla y el gusto de la corte, y entre su obra y la de un grupo de poetas religiosos (fray Íñigo de Mendoza, fray Ambrosio Montesino). El verso de Padilla, opina, es superior al de sus coetáneos; en él encontramos inspiración poética y un feliz injerto de la poesía dantesca en la española.

La crítica repite lo dicho por Amador de los Ríos hasta que, en 1896, Menéndez Pelayo se acerca de una manera personal y directa a la obra del Cartujano (op. cit.). Don Marcelino, que utiliza la edición de Riego, estudia brevemente la versificación y la sintaxis, y con detalle los temas, estructura y composición de los poemas. También señala la importancia de las alusiones a la vida de los principios del XVI, tan frecuentes en los *Doce triunfos*. Enriquecida su perspectiva por todo lo anteriormente descubierto, considera

<sup>32</sup> *Histoire de la littérature espagnole* (Paris, 1863), pág. 114.

<sup>33</sup> *I primi influssi di Dante, del Petrarca e del Boccaccio sulla letteratura spagnuola* (Milano, 1902), pág. 224.

a don Juan de Padilla el poeta más destacado entre todos los que, en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos, escribían poemas dantescos y alegóricos en el metro y en el estilo de Mena. Para don Marcelino, como antes para Usoz, ningún país en 1521 puede presentar tan buen discípulo de Dante. Señala, después, las diferencias entre el *Retablo* y los *Triunfos*. El *Retablo* es, opina, obra más religiosa que literaria; sencilla, narrativa, sin alegoría ni simbolismo: uno de tantos poemas que sobre la vida de Cristo se escribieron, a lo largo de la Edad Media, desde que el español Juvenco abrió la serie. El valor literario de los *Triunfos*, afirma, es mayor. Poema enteramente dantesco, aunque con reminiscencias de Petrarca y Virgilio, y ya no historial sino alegórico. Hay que distinguir en él un simbolismo astrológico, una cosmografía y un viaje al infierno y al purgatorio. Menéndez Pelayo apunta también los defectos. Casi los mismos que ya se habían señalado: mezcla, dicción escabrosa y desigual, pedantería en lo astrológico y cosmográfico. Pero las virtudes de Juan de Padilla son muchas. Asimila el poder de representación de Dante. Su versificación posee la misma robustez y elevación que ha sido gala de los poetas andaluces. Por su dicción y por su número de italianismos y latinismos puede apuntarse cierta relación con la ulterior escuela sevillana. Es, en fin, uno de los mayores poetas del XV, pero "llegó demasiado pronto para unas cosas y demasiado tarde para otras. Fue de los que tocaron en las puertas del Renacimiento sin llegar a penetrar en él y sin ser tampoco verdaderos poetas de la Edad Media: su erudición tuvo que ser pedantesca, torcido y violento su estilo" (pág. cclxiii).

Desde Menéndez Pelayo aumenta considerablemente el número de historias de la literatura y de diccionarios literarios. En casi todos ellos se alude a Padilla y a veces se le dedican largos estudios. Pero es difícil hallar ideas originales sobre la obra del Cartujano. En general se repite lo dicho por Amador de los Ríos y especialmente por Menéndez Pelayo. A veces párrafos enteros se transcriben sin indicar las fuentes. Se traen a colación las mismas alabanzas o los mismos vituperios, y frecuentemente es fácil notar la falta de lectura directa.

Ángel Valbuena Prat, en 1937, es el primero en apuntar la relación de la obra del Cartujano con diversas manifestaciones plásticas de entonces: pintura, escultura; y en particular su analogía con

retablos de la época: por ejemplo, los de Pedro Berruguete y Juan de Borgoña (cfr. n. 21). Relación evidente y valiosísima para la comprensión de la obra de don Juan de Padilla.

Es María Rosa Lida de Malkiel la primera en enfrentarse, de nuevo, de una manera seria y original con la obra del Cartujano.<sup>24</sup> Comienza por establecer claramente la relación entre Padilla, Dante y Mena. Afirma, como antes había hecho Sanvisenti, que Padilla no es discípulo directo de Dante, como se ha venido diciendo, sino de Mena. Esta afirmación es sustentada mediante un esmerado y detenido estudio de temas y sintaxis.

El marco narrativo de los *Triunfos*, como el del *Laberinto*, venía dado por la boga del poema en forma de visión supraterránea, nos advierte María Rosa Lida; pero Padilla, menos sabio, aumenta la complicación mecánica del artificio, lo que acentúa el carácter medieval del argumento. Así se explica lo que se venía llamando confusión y mezcla sin sentido. De la misma manera se aclara "la parte astrológica y cosmográfica . . . en extremo cansada y pedantesca" como decía Menéndez Pelayo (pág. cel). Realmente el Cartujano, de acuerdo con la moda medieval, incorpora a su obra todo cuanto del cielo y la tierra ofrecía el *De imagine mundi*, acercándose a éste a través del *Laberinto* de Mena. Demuestra María Rosa Lida que la influencia de Mena no se circunscribe al *Laberinto*; la ejercen también otras composiciones suyas, especialmente las *Coplas contra los pecados mortales* y la *Coronación*. Si es grande la influencia literaria de Mena sobre el Cartujano, todavía es mayor su influjo lingüístico. Afirmación a la que sigue un estudio de elementos sintácticos: oraciones interrogativas indirectas, *que* temporal, empleo de la pasiva, uso de participios y gerundios, acumulación de relativos. . . . Todo lo cual demuestra un empobrecimiento respecto a Mena, al mismo tiempo que la permanencia de los elementos cultos del *Laberinto* indican la creciente supremacía de la forma latina.

El estudio de María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, preciso y documentado, sigue siendo hoy indispensable para cualquier nuevo acercamiento a la obra del Cartujano.

La obra de Padilla, sin duda valiosa, ha interesado al público y a la crítica de manera muy diferente a lo largo del tiempo.

<sup>24</sup> Op. cit., págs. 427-445. Véase también su apéndice a *El otro mundo en la literatura medieval* de Howard Rollin Patch (México, 1956).

Las primeras noticias que han llegado hasta nosotros—"Libro de la celestial jerarquía"—señalan la elegancia y explican el carácter del estilo del Cartujano. Para Faria y Sousa, en la primera mitad del XVII, es don Juan de Padilla el poeta más importante de su tiempo, incluyendo a Mena. El interés que el *Retablo* despierta en el XVI, lo atestiguan las veintidós ediciones que aparecen entre 1505 y 1605. Después sólo se encuentran algunas selecciones. Dos veces se editan los *Triunfos* en el XVI: 1521 y 1529. La edición de Riego es de 1841 y la de Foulché-Delbosc de 1912. Durante la segunda mitad del XVII y a lo largo del XVIII pocas veces se alude al Cartujano, y entonces es para señalar lo anticuado de su estilo, o para repetir fechas de ediciones o noticias de su vida. Ni los críticos ni los bibliógrafos conocen directamente el *Retablo* o los *Triunfos*. La crítica del XIX descubre otra vez el valor de la obra de Padilla; aunque olvida con frecuencia—de acuerdo con la tónica del tiempo, y con la situación ideológica de cada crítico—la realidad y las características de la época del Cartujano. Pero, aun así, el valor de este acercamiento es inapreciable. Gracias a él la obra se conoce y, poco a poco, se va explicando. Se señala primero su relación con Dante y con Virgilio, con Mena y con Petrarca después. Se estudia, en parte, su estilo y sus temas, y se destaca la importancia y el interés de la obra del Cartujano. Si algunos autores continúan sin comprender la obra, son pocos, y aun éstos encuentran en ella, generalmente, algo digno de señalar. En lo que va de siglo la crítica ha continuado acercándose y explicando cada vez más la obra del Cartujano. En 1912 Foulché-Delbosc, en su *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, edita otra vez los *Doce Triunfos*. Más tarde Valbuena Prat destaca la relación de la obra de Padilla con el arte del "plateresco." Rafael Lapesa en su hermoso libro sobre Santillana sitúa al Cartujano en el cuadro de la literatura europea del XV.<sup>25</sup> Por último María Rosa Lida de Malkiel clarifica y explica muchos aspectos del *Retablo* y de los *Triunfos*, y matiza su relación con Dante y su dependencia de la obra de Mena.

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<sup>25</sup> *La obra literaria del Marqués de Santillana* (Madrid, 1957), pág. 168.

## ONOMASTIC INVENTION IN THE *BUSCÓN*

LEO Spitzer in 1931 made the first significant step toward an analysis of Quevedo's use of proper names when he termed them *Spitzmarken* 'titles' or 'headings,' or onomastic inventions dedicated to highlight, support, or define an essential trait of the named character. (Examples: *Garroso*, the 'hooking' of the thief; *Merluza*, the guile of that fish; *María de la Guía*, "Virgin" and guide, but also procuress; *Flechilla*, *Merlo*, etc.)<sup>1</sup> It was not possible, however, in the course of his study, to unravel the tangles and obscurities of these allusive puzzles, clarify their meanings, and clear up the obscure passages in which they occur. The text of the *Buscón* therefore has remained to this day with important elements uncommented on and undefined.<sup>2</sup> This paper proposes

<sup>1</sup>"Zur Kunst Quevedos in seinem *Buscón*," in *Romanische Stil- und Literaturstudien* (Marburg, 1931), II, 72. Raimundo Lida, commenting on the originality of Spitzer's work, also spoke of the "creación rabelaisiana de nombres propios" in the *Buscón*, "Estilística, un estudio sobre Quevedo," *Sur*, IV (1931), 169. Spitzer unfortunately used for his study what has seemed to us a vitiated text, the ms. of the Library of Menéndez y Pelayo, reproduced in América Castro's edition of 1927.

<sup>2</sup>Our textual references will be to the *Buscón* in Astrana Marín's ed. of the *Obras completas, Obras en prosa* (Madrid, 1932). Even though the accuracy of this text has been called into question by A. Rodríguez Moñino ("Los manuscritos del *Buscón* de Quevedo," *NEFH*, VII [1953]), it presents, almost without doubt, the most legitimate renditions of the names in question. The essence of the matter is as follows: Astrana asserted that he used the elusive ms. of the poet José Manuel Bueno (*Obras en verso*, Madrid, 1952), p. xxvii), an assertion roundly disputed by Rodríguez, who points out that the text given by Astrana differs in many respects from the "real" ms. of Bueno (in private hands now, and available to Rodríguez Moñino); moreover the Bueno ms. used by Astrana was stolen from him, according to his report to Rodríguez, in 1934 or 1935. Also available to Astrana were the well-known "Variants" of the Bueno ms., which had been compiled by Aureliano Fernández-Guerra and are now in the Library of Menéndez y Pelayo at Santander. These "Variants" noted in their entirety, according to Rodríguez Moñino (p. 664), in the edition of Selden Rose (Madrid, 1927) were *not* utilized by Astrana. By a process of elimination we may therefore fix the source of Astrana's names studied here. They appear neither in the princeps (Zaragoza, 1626, henceforth called Z 1626), upon which

to clarify these Baroque enigmas and to extend Spitzer's acute observations on their stylistic function. The systematic affectation and compression associated with conceptism will be seen to be particularly typical of proper names themselves, especially the invented ones.<sup>3</sup>

#### I. "AGUDEZA NOMINAL"

Quevedo's invented names in the *Buscón* can be explained in the light of two traditions, neither original with him, but extended and elaborated to an unusual degree in the Baroque master. One received extended treatment in Gracián's *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (1646, 1648), where a chapter of literary analysis was labeled "Agudeza nominal," the art of literary name-play.<sup>4</sup> Briefly, this may be defined as the special management of a historical name so that it will offer a new *correspondencia* (e.g., *Artemia*, Spanish derivative from *Artemis*, 'wisdom,' 'reason,' based on the *arte* in her name, a principal character in the *Criticón*), or the transformation ("si la cortan o la trastruecan") of a historical name to augment its allusive power ("... de cada sílaba renace una sutileza ingeniosa y da cada acento un concepto," p. 183), such as the celebrated *Andrenio* 'raw-man,' from *Andrés* or *Andronio* (*Andronicus*), from Greek *man*. This somewhat limited concept of name potential is of course broadened by Quevedo to include sheer name invention (e.g. *licenciado Brandalagas*, a name without historical onomastic identity), and

Américo Castro based his first annotated edition (Madrid, 1911, hereafter referred to as Castro, 1911), nor in the ms. of the Library of Menéndez y Pelayo, the basis of Castro's second annotated edition (henceforth called Castro, 1927), and indeed present some serious discrepancies with those two texts. Neither do they appear in Fernández-Guerra's "Variants," as recorded in the edition of Rose. This leaves us the famous "Códice de Córdoba" (copied by Gallardo, and in the possession of Astrana) which must then be, on the evidence of the study which follows, our most authentic text. Rodríguez Moñino notes that this ms. came under Astrana's examination: "Sin duda un trastrueque de notas le hizo desdoblar el 'Códice cordobés' . . ." (p. 662).

<sup>3</sup>By "invented names" ones of purely literary creation are usually intended (i.e. *Licenciado Brandalagas*, *Madre Labruscas*, etc). Historical names, unless they are given some particular *correspondencia*, are not under consideration here.

<sup>4</sup>*Obras completas*, ed. E. Correa Calderón (Madrid, 1944), p. 182.



is combined as well with the use of words in the rogue's jargon (*germanía, caló*), popular before him in Cervantes and others, but carried to its ultimate elaboration in the *Buscón*.<sup>5</sup>

"Spitzmarke" and "Agudeza"

The first serves to label a trait of the character, the second to confound and amuse the reader, to achieve the autonomous *primor* of a massive linguistic compression, and incidentally to serve the pícaro's deception as he compounds his own aliases to outwit his victims. *Brandalagas* will be remembered as a friend of Pablos' who acts as the agent of the Inquisition so that the rogue may depart from Berenguela's house without paying his bill. The action in which he is involved is the picaresque ruse based on the Inquisition's practice of confiscation: ". . . comencé a trazar de salirme de casa; y para no pagar comida, cama ni posada, (que montaba muchos reales), y sacar mi hato libre, tracé con un licenciado Brandalagas, natural de Hornillos, y con otros dos amigos míos, que me viniesen a prender" (p. 112). Later: ". . . pidieron embargo por la deuda [those at Berenguela's house], y respondieron que eran bienes de la Inquisición" (loc. cit.). *Brandalagas* thus defines the most essential (to Quevedo) trait of this character and correspondingly labels the action in which he is involved. The name is formed on the Medieval Latin *branda*<sup>6</sup> and the already antiquated Spanish *lagas* for *llagas*,<sup>7</sup> since the most striking aspect of the Inquisition, its burnings, inspires this figure: *Burning Wounds*, who of course hails from *Hornillos* (the 'ovens') again attesting the rite of the *auto*.<sup>8</sup> It

<sup>5</sup> The process is of course not new in the 17th century. See E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. Willard Trask (New York, 1953), p. 495 ff. Curtius finds allusive name creation to be the "only rhetorical device" that can be traced uninterrupted to Homer.

<sup>6</sup> A medieval Germanic acquisition: "branda: fax ardens . . . Ferrunt etiam Brandes, sive faces, et cum illis circumeunt arva . . . seu faces ardentis." *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Paris, 1937).

<sup>7</sup> *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (Madrid, 1947).

<sup>8</sup> Castro (1927): "Hornillos (Valladolid)," p. 219 (note). The same formula is followed in the good "capitán de comedia," "Marguso, natural de Olias" (p. 105). *Marguso* is from *marga* 'loam,' 'fertilizer'; the captain is made to come from *Olias* because of its resemblance to *oler* 'smell.' Corominas lists a first documentation for *marga* of 1705, but feels it even

should be noticed, as mentioned, that the name also labels the action in which the figure is involved. Indeed, *Brandalagas* is not only a *Spitzmarke* for the character of the rogue, but an effective 'title' for the *traza* of the Inquisition which he makes possible. The other two personages involved are merely "otros dos amigos míos," in no need of names since *Brandalagas* has summed up the entire action. Often it seems that Quevedo reserves these special recondite nomina for onomastic titles of picaresque events. We have seen *traza* or its variants repeated several times above, and the same ruse is again recalled toward the end of the novel: ". . . la traza de la Inquisición" (p. 117). It is only picaresque justice that subsequently the *licenciado* should relieve Pablos of certain winnings at gambling, as the co-deceiver deceives the deceiver: ". . . hallé que el buen licenciado Brandalagas y Pero López habían cargado con ello [100 reales], y no parecían" (p. 116).<sup>9</sup>

The ancient personage of *trotaconventos* enjoyed, as remembered, several characters. It was customary in Quevedo's time not only to continue that omnipresent genre of "Imitations of the *Celestina*," but also to besprinkle other types of novels with bawds patterned on the prototypal *Celestina* of Rojas. Frequently novelists created names for them which were allusive to the various skills which she made famous.<sup>10</sup> Quevedo's *María de la Guía* is

then is a "cultismo tomado de Plinio," *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua española* (Madrid, 1954). See J. Jud, review of G. Dottin, *La langue gauloise* (Paris, 1920), in *Arch. Rom.*, VI (1922), 209, where *marga* is related everywhere in the Romance world to *Dünger*. Castro (1927): "Probablemente *Ollas del Rey* (Toledo) y no *Ollas* (Málaga)," p. 187 (note). Cf. the probable model, the adj. *margoso*. *Magazo* in Z 1626 (Castro, 1911, p. 177).

<sup>9</sup> The name was perhaps not understood but was unusual yet popular enough to be taken up in the 18th century as the pseudonym of the author of a polemical pamphlet: *Carta del licenciado Brandalagas, profesor de astrología, a su amigo D. Diego de Torres Villarroel*, . . . , n.d., see Catalogue of the Tickner Collection (Boston, 1879).

<sup>10</sup> *Belona Lagartija* (Antonio Enríquez Gómez, *La vida de don Gregorio Guadaña, B.A.E.*, XXXIII, 258) plays on the Roman Goddess of War from *bellum* ("Tuvo la Gentilidad a Belona por Diosa de las discordias, de las lides, y de las batallas . . .," Baltasar de Vitoria, *Teatro de los Dioses*, Barcelona, 1702, II, 491-492), for an allusion to the bawd's sewing of plots (*velos*): she runs a sewing school where she teaches how to "bordar un embuste como *Celestina*" (loc. cit.). *La Matorralba* (Gregorio Guadaña, p. 274) alludes to the sorcery of her prototype as her name derives from

perhaps a direct play on the old *trotaconventos*:<sup>11</sup> she "alquilaba su casa y era corredora para alquilar otras" (p. 117), and since her name has a statement of 'guide' (the Virgin), she may lead to an additional mock moral observation; when accused of being a witch, she replies: ". . . no . . . era otra Guía. Y no es de espantar que con tales guías vamos todos descaminados," as if her function of guide were equivalent to a Biblical "guide for life."

But the ancient bawd was especially attractive to Quevedo (see note 15), who created several of her type within the limited confines of the *Buscón*, ranging, as mentioned, over the several characteristics which she enjoyed. Quevedo's favorite among these was her celebrated drunkenness, given such emphasis in Lope's Gerarda. Another ancient procuress will thus be labeled *Madre Labruscas* (p. 107),<sup>12</sup> as Quevedo, unlike Cervantes and his *Madre Pipota*, will seek out a rare Spanish word (1st doc. 1555, Corominas), or outright Latinism, whose meaning is the 'wild grape' or 'wild vine.'<sup>13</sup> It is noteworthy that, unlike *Brandalagas* (or *Pipota*),

Cervantes' (and history's) *Eugenio Torralba* (*Obras completas*, ed. Valbuena Prat, Madrid, 1946, p. 1531), who was tried by the Inquisition for witchcraft in 1531. See M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España* (México, 1950), I, 279-280. The name is probably formed on *Torralba* and *matorral*. A similar allusion to the sorcery of the bawd is to call her *Alcina* (Matías de los Reyes, *Curial del Parnaso*, Madrid, 1909, p. 84), after Ariosto's "maga impura" in the *Orlando furioso*, ed. L. Pietrobono and C. Spada (Firenze, 1946), p. 449.

<sup>11</sup> Z 1626, "Tal de la Guía," to eliminate the irreverence of *Marta*.

<sup>12</sup> *Lebrusca* in Castro, 1911 (p. 184), from Z 1626, and followed consistently in all subsequent editions: Pamplona, 1631; Brusselas 1661; ed. D. Basilio Castellanos, Madrid, 1840; ed. Fernández-Guerra, Madrid, 1852, etc. *Mother Lebrusca* in English translation of 1798. Castro (1927, p. 194) has *Lepruscas* (from ms. of Library of Menéndez y Pelayo), which may have had some suggestion of *lepra*, but the French translator (*L'Aventurier Buscon*, Lyon, 1644, p. 177; not the first edition, which is 1633) nicely translates *Lambruche* 'Labrusca.' I have not been able to compare the French edition of 1633 with the Spanish mss. and editions (e.g. Zaragoza, 1628), but will undertake it at a later date.

<sup>13</sup> Famous in Vergil, *Ecl. V*, 7, and defined by Pliny: "Amomi uva in usu est, India vite labrusca," *Historiarum mundi*, IV, Lib. XII, XXVIII (Barth, 1838). In the Peninsula: "No parece haber sido nunca popular en castellano, aunque sí en mozárabe (*labrúsk* en el glosario de Leiden, SXI), en catalán (*Uambrusca*), y quizá en portugués . . ." (Corominas). Quevedo may have intended an allusion both to drink and medicinal property, both characters relevant to the procuress. The latter acceptance appears in no Spanish dictionary that I am aware of, but was possibly current in Quevedo's

her name has no bearing upon the particular action in which she is involved (she confesses and betrays the rogues to the police), but rather defines in historical and recondite terms one famous trait of Celestina. There is a curious, and perhaps suggestive, resemblance between the two *madres* mentioned, Pipota and Labruscas. They both have names allusive to drinking, and both are engaged in the "cloth business." Labruscas is "yendo a vender no sé qué ropa" (loc. cit.) when she is apprehended by the police, and it is remembered that Pipota reports to Monipodio that she has not had time to check a basket of stolen clothing at her house.<sup>14</sup> If Quevedo followed Cervantes, the elaboration of the original wine-drinking suggestion is typically his and Baroque: *Pipota* 'Wine Cask,' clear and humorous in the Cervantine vein, becomes *Labruscas* 'Wild Grape,' as Quevedo involves and Latinizes what had been shortly before him a transparent case.<sup>15</sup>

But Celestina had other striking characteristics besides that of tipping. María, thus, in a parody of Celestina's penchant for learned quotation, "citaba a la Vidaña, su concurrente en Alcalá, y a la Plañoso, en Burgos, y a Muñatones la de Salamanca, mujeres de todo embustir" (p. 117).<sup>16</sup> In *Vidaña*, the allusion to drink is once more achieved (based on *vid*);<sup>17</sup> in *Plañoso*, to the bawd's

time: "Suelense mezclar los razimos y las flores de la Labrusca en el mosto porque alié de que hacé muy coloroso el vino, le dan cierto sabor raspante, harto agradable al gusto, y no menos confortativo al estómago." Andrés Laguna, *La 'Materia Médica' de Dioscórides*, ed. César E. Dubler (Barcelona, 1955), III, 505-506.

<sup>14</sup> *Novelas ejemplares*, ed. Francisco Rodríguez Marín (Madrid, 1952), I, 178-182.

<sup>15</sup> There is other indirect evidence of Quevedo's admiration for *Rinconete y Cortadillo*. Well known are the famous, and for their time notable, remarks of the satirist on Cervantes in the *Perinola*: Montvalán wrote his novels in the *Para todos* "con poco temor y reverencia de las que imprimió el ingeniosísimo Miguel de Cervantes" (*Obras en prosa*, p. 724). The *Novelas ejemplares* are obviously meant by Quevedo. And which of the novels would be to his liking if not the picaresque *Rinconete y Cortadillo*? It is not haphazard that in the *España defendida* Quevedo lauds, of all Spanish imaginative prose works, precisely the *Celestina* and *Lazarillo*, and no others (*ibid.*, p. 294).

<sup>16</sup> Castro (1911 and 1927) omits *Muñatones*; 1927 has *Placioso* instead of *Plañoso* (p. 243). *Plañoso* might have been meaningless to the copyist, who substituted *Placioso*, common in the rogue's ballads. Both the omission and the substitution of *Placioso* destroy the play on three interior ñ's, which seems typically Quevedesque.

<sup>17</sup> Thus *Pipota* > the couplet *Labruscas-Vidaña*, both relative to *vid*.

celebrated bent for false tears and lament (based on *plañir*);<sup>18</sup> and in *Muñatonos* to the aged mother's necromancy, in almost exact imitation of that "*hechicero*," the "sabio Muñatón" in the *Quijote*.<sup>19</sup> Quevedo, thus, like other writers of the time, singles out particular traits of the ancient prototype, but sets them in series, as if by combining them all, he might portray the entire Celestina in onomastic terms. Again, the *agudeza nominal* has no particular bearing on any action in the novel. It points rather to an ancient attribute of the many which Rojas' bawd made famous, that of drink being Quevedo's favorite, perhaps following, as we have said, Cervantes.

At another juncture of the pícaro's progress, however, a name is proffered which directly summarizes the action, even as it supports the main character of the person. This is *Blandones de San Pablo*, given to the *carcelero* toward the end of the famous jail scenes (p. 109). As remembered, the entire anecdote, at least with respect to Pablos and the jailer, involves the rogue's subornation of the *carcelero* for two ends: the removal of his shackles and his transfer to a more comfortable cell. Note the indubitable insistence on the *briding* of the jailer:

. . . aprovechéme del dinero que traía conmigo, y sacando un doblón, dijele al carcelero:

—Señor, óigame v.m. en secreto.

Y para que lo hiciese, dile escudo como cara (p. 107).

Busquéle las manos, y como sus palmas estaban hechas a llevar semajantes dátiles, cerró con los dichos veinte y seis. . . (p. 107)

El carcelero, pareciéndole que por no dejarme zabullir en el horado le daría otro doblón, . . . (p. 107)

Yo di luego seis reales; . . . (p. 108)

Torné a repararle las manos al carcelero con tres de a ocho . . . (p. 109)

. . . yo di al carcelero un escudo. Quitóme los grillos . . . (p. 109)<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Madre Labruscas: "Lloraba la vieja a cada paso, enclavijaba las manos y suspiraba de lo amargo . . ." (*Obras en prosa*, p. 106).

<sup>19</sup> *Obras*, p. 1139. Cf. the already mentioned *Matorralba* and *Alcina*.

<sup>20</sup> Perhaps it is more than coincidental that the famous *Relación de la*

*Blandones de San Pablo* 'Candles of St. Paul' must be a commentary on bribery: hardly any other character could accrue to the jailer. No exact proof is available to us here, but there seems little doubt that Quevedo names him thus because he can be "bought" like the candles for the saint, just as saints themselves are "bribed" for selfish ends.<sup>21</sup>

We should examine this incident more carefully. The jailer is repeatedly designated *carcelero*, as noted, with no further expansion on his name until the bribery has been finalized, and Pablos has effected his release. We are confronted here with a deliberate word puzzle offered to the reader. A series of suggestions and descriptions of bribery are offered as clues to the final challenging *agudeza*. *Carcelero* is repeated until the bribery motif has been

*cárcel de Sevilla* (1585-1597) of Cristóbal de Chaves is largely a description of the "economic" life of the prison, the means of securing special treatment by bribing the jailers, with a considerable emphasis on precisely the removal of the *grillos* or *prisiones* and the transfer from the common, and insufferable, cells to a more comfortable living place. The money is divided between the *portero* and the old inmates themselves when "se le ruega que quite prisiones o que lo dejen estar en buen lugar" (see Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, col. 1345). The various gates of the prison are given such names as *Puerta de Oro* and *Puerta de Plata* "por el aprovechamiento que tiene el que la guarda" (col. 1343). "No se desencierra preso ni quita prisiones sin propina . . ." (col. 1344). "Suelen valer [the prisoners] grande aprovechamiento a el alcaide . . ." (col. 1347). "Es de ver en anocheciendo los recaudos y billetes que recibe el alcaide para soltar y dormir fuera los que son favorecidos . . ." (col. 1348).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the common practices of seeking out certain saints, praying to them, doing fasts in their name, or lighting candles to them, to secure specific favors; e.g., the famous prayer to St. Apolonia for Calisto's toothache in the *Celestina* (ed. Cejador, Madrid, 1951, I, 181). The practice was severely criticized by the Erasmists, but defended by their opponents: "¿Quién sabe si la intercesión de Santa Apolonia no es la más agradable a Dios, en memoria de los padecimientos que soportó cuando sus dientes le fueron arrancados cruelmente?" (Bataillon, II, 183) Mockery of the practice was common; in Quevedo's own period: ". . . a San Dionisio, ayunaban por el dolor de la cabeza; a Santa Lucía, por la vista; a Santa Polonia, por las muelas; a San Blas, por la garganta; a San Gregorio, por el dolor del estómago; a San Erasmo, por el de vientre; a San Antonio Abad, por el fuego; a San Vicente Martín, por las fiebres; a San Antonio de Padua, por las cosas perdidas; a San Nicolás, obispo, por remediador de doncellas; y, finalmente, a San Crispín, por la duración de su calzado," Castillo Solórzano, *La Niña de los Embustes* (Madrid, 1906), pp. 103-104.

clearly established, whereupon *Blandones de San Pablo* tops it and labels it with an ecclesiastical reference typical of Quevedo.<sup>22</sup>

One final *agudeza nominal* reveals the author in league with his protagonist once again. *Ramiro de Guzmán* has been a grandiloquent alias to enforce the guise of wealth which Pablos feigns at the house of Berenguela, and is consistently evoked as accompaniment to the vicissitudes of Pablos' deceptions at that place.<sup>23</sup> Near the end of the incident, however, Pablos himself comes to the house and asks for himself with the last mentioned name plus the *señor de Valcerrado y Vellorete*.<sup>24</sup> This climax of deceptions at the house of Berenguela is thus paralleled by the maximum (in the sense that it is completely ridiculous within the story) of name invention. Names with *Val-* are legion in Spain,<sup>25</sup> while *vellorí* or its variants enjoyed a literary usage of great longevity.<sup>26</sup> The

<sup>22</sup> I know of no specific study on ecclesiastical imagery in Quevedo, but it is no exaggeration to state that the practices and other elements of church and religion are to him what classical mythology was to the ancient writers; for every human event, thing, or person, there is an ecclesiastical element to illustrate it: cf., at Ramplón's house: "Entramos en un aposento tan bajo, que andábamos por él como quien recibe bendiciones" (p. 95), and so on in almost every line of the *Buscón*. The references are of course now in parody, following the great parodist of the classical religions, Lucian. Hence the poem to Quevedo from "Luciano su amigo" in the first edition (p. 68).

<sup>23</sup> Aliases are essential to the pícaro's activities. Unlike other means, which usually allude to the action or define the rapacity of the pícaro (e.g., *Gregorio Guadaña*), the alias must conceal it. Cf. Bachiller Trapaza's "propio y apelativo nombre" of *Hernando del Parral*, which lends the respectability of a religious establishment to the rogue: ". . . quiso entonces mudar de apellido, tomándolo de aquel insigne convento de San Jerónimo de Segovia," Castillo Solórzano, *Las aventuras del Bachiller Trapaza* (Madrid, 1905), p. 154.

<sup>24</sup> Castro, 1927, *Vellorete* (p. 213).

<sup>25</sup> Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico estadístico histórico* (Madrid, 1848), has many, but no *Valcerrado*. The *Diccionario geográfico universal* of Fernando Villalba (Madrid, 1953) lists approximately 90 places with *Val-*, but no *Valcerrado*, of course. Castro (1927) notes only that the name is used when "se trata de lugares supuestos" (p. 213, note).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Cervantes' celebrated "Y los días de la semana se honraba con su vellorí de lo más fino" at the beginning of the *Quijote* (*Obras*, p. 1120). Here it bespeaks "fine cloth," but elsewhere suggests "cheap cloth"; ". . . dos mozos al parecer soldados, el uno vestido de una mezclilla verdosa y el otro de vellorín," Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (Madrid, 1926),

motive of the sonorous alliteration is of course to reflect aristocracy and wealth, but the reader is called upon again to cooperate and witness the utter nonsense of the title. Unlike *Hernando del Parral* (see note 23), which may be considered a "serious" attempt at disguise, *Valcerrado* and *Vellorete* would probably deceive no one. An English translation of the name, since it cannot reproduce either the toponimic suggestion of the *Val-*, or the scornful inference of *-ete*, reveals the total absurdity which Quevedo intends: 'Sir Raymond of Guzmán, Lord of the Undied Wool and Tight-little-valley.'<sup>27</sup> The case of the "identity" of author and protagonist is clearly presented here. Pablos designs an onomastic prodigy of ingenuity to deceive his hostess, even as Quevedo throws a wink at the reader with this name of palpable nonsense. The rogue's mastery of the ruse, onomastic and otherwise, to deceive his victims, and the author's play with concepts and words (see *Lorenzo del Pedroso*, ahead) to outwit, or at least to stimulate his reader, makes them both "pícaros," in their respective ways.

## II. NAMES FROM THE "GERMANÍA" OR OF GERMANESQUE TYPE

Strongly coupled with the tradition of *agudeza nominal* is the influence of the rogues' ballads, the *romances de germanía*, on Quevedo's onomastic technique. Not only are names taken directly from rogues treated there, or fashioned on Germanesque words which appear in Juan Hidalgo's *Vocabulario*,<sup>28</sup> but Quevedo's very style of allusive name-making appears to be influenced by the underworld's penchant for allegorical onomastic characterization, mainly of the qualities of courage and knavery, the main themes in many of these *romances*.<sup>29</sup> In more than a few *romances*

I, 119, or "lana sin tefir," *Diccionario de la Lengua española* (Autoridades) (Madrid, 1726-39).

<sup>27</sup> Cf., in a mockery of pretentious names, a *señor de Montecastro*, in Baptista Remiro de Navarra, *Los peligros de Madrid* (1646) (Madrid, 1956), p. 74.

<sup>28</sup> Our references to Hidalgo (*Romances de Germanía de varios autores con su vocabulario al cabo . . .*, Barcelona, 1609) will be to the edition of John M. Hill, *Poesías germanescas* (Bloomington, 1946), which also includes a series of *romances* from the 16th century, of Quevedo, and an additional miscellany from the 17th century. We shall quote *Quevedo's jácara*s, however, from the edition of Astrana Marín cited above.

<sup>29</sup> Even the rogue poets are interested in names, their meanings, and



*germanescos* the poetic substance is a long listing of either specific rogues' names or generalized titles for thieves, assassins, and the rest, many obviously recent departures from the status of adjectives.<sup>30</sup> It is a problem still to be studied, yet we believe that the *Buscón* has many linguistic elements that are artistic elaborations of the jargons, certainly more than any other major prose work of Spain.

In many cases these names are conventional allusions to rapacity and knavery, derived from both nouns and adjectives, which themselves doubtless had a long period of real-life and literary use before they were elevated to the dignity of proper names. *Romo* 'Flat-nose' (probably allusive to the results of a brawl) and *Garroso* (*supra*) are two who have bribed the *verdugo* and received lighter beatings (p. 95).<sup>31</sup> *Merlo Díaz* (p. 106) is a thief (*merlo*: "especie de zorzal; fig. hombre astuto y sagaz," *Dicc. Acad.*), and *Julián Merluza* (p. 76) utilizes the name of a similar fish to designate the rapacity of the merchant class as it graces the agent for Alonso Coronel's funds in Alcalá.<sup>32</sup>

derivations: "Maladros llaman al birlo/de mal Ladrón derivado?" ("Romance de la vida y muerte de Maladros," Hill, p. 83).

<sup>30</sup> Cante mi Germana Lyra  
 en canto godo, y altano:  
 de un Rufo, que fuña, y garla  
 rastilla, abocada granos.  
 Lobaton en los Verdosos,  
 Murcigallero en el Garo,  
 Polinche de Maniblages  
 Guñiarol en lo guisado. . . .  
 Gomarra por el Baldeo,  
 Rodamonte por el garlo,  
 Del qual grido: y sepan todos  
 los del Germanico trato,  
 los que son, y los que fueren,

y los que huyen el Cambio.  
 Las Aguilas, y aguiluchos,  
 Aluaneseros, Lagartos,  
 Brechadores, Astilleros,  
 Calcatiferos, reclamos.  
 Los maestros de las chancas,  
 los Desflorados: y macos:  
 La cherinola Esquifada  
 del Corral de los Naranjos.  
 Polinches, y gariteros,  
 Guardamarcas, Llevatrapos.  
 . . .

(Hill, pp. 83-84).

<sup>31</sup> Castro, 1927, *Gairoso* (p. 143). *Garra* had several variants: *Garrancho* (Hill, p. 79); *Garrucho* (p. 45). Cf. *Gansua* (p. 88). *Garro* is 'hand' in Hidalgo's "Vocabulary" (p. 114).

<sup>32</sup> Fish contributed many names suggestive of astuteness, a usage probably parallel to the use of the trout's name: "Es muy trucha; dícese del hombre sagaz y muy difícil de engañar" (*Dicc. Acad.*). Cf. *Truchado*, crafty rustic in Juan de Piña, *Casos prodigiosos y cueva encantada* (1628-29) (Madrid, 1906), p. 44. Cf. *Tomé Cecial* in the *Quijote* (*Obras*, p. 1324), and *Chicharro* 'Jurel' in Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo* (Madrid, 1922), p. 270.

There are two *Flechillas*, one a "verdugo de Ocaña" (p. 95), the other a *licenciado*, casual friend of Pablos (p. 116), both names probably attesting the quick wit (the 'speed' of the arrow) which Quevedo wishes to suggest;<sup>33</sup> their repetition doubtless an evidence of the relative carelessness of Quevedo's writing.<sup>34</sup> Neither the celebrated *Alonso Ramplón* (p. 85 ff.) nor *la Grajal* 'Magpie' (p. 125) emerges directly from the *germanía*, but both suggest that source, as the former marks the "uncouthness" of the hangman in insistent contrast to the "dignity" he boasts of ("... hombre allegado a toda virtud y muy conocido en Segovia . . .," loc. cit.), while the latter makes a typical Quevedesque commentary on feminine chatter.<sup>35</sup> *Polanco*, a beggar-thief (p. 106), boasts a Germanesque commonplace in connection with the "prying" of the booty,<sup>36</sup> and *el Jayán*, common in the *romances*, and ordinarily suggestive of the dominant and masculine, is ironically given to the pederast in jail, in humorous allusion to the danger of his assaults on the others: "... no había quién se osase ventosear, de miedo de acordarle dónde tenía las asentaderas" (p. 108).<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The allusion to quickwittedness based on the speed of the arrow is probably arrived at by the same logic as *centella* 'spark' applied to a rogue in Francisco de Lugo y Dávila, *Teatro popular* (Madrid, 1906), p. 136. "... ser como la centella, ser de vivo ingenio" (*Dicc. Acad.*).

<sup>34</sup> The copyist's fancy may have played with the name of another hangman, *Juanazo* in Astrana (p. 95), but in Castro, 1911 (p. 133) *Lobresno*, and in Castro, 1927 (p. 143) *Lobuzno*; *Lobresno* in Quevedo's *jácara*, "Aquí se contiene la adversa fortuna del valiente Escarramán" (*Obras en verso*, p. 251). Variations on *lobo* are naturally among the most common of rogue's names: *Lobaina* (Hill, 39); *Lobaton* (p. 83); *Lobo Mayor* (p. 59). In other novels: *Lobatillo*, in Lifián y Verdugo, *Guía y avisos de forasteros* (Barcelona, 1885), p. 75; *Lupina*, a prostitute, in Salas Barbadillo, *Le estafeta del Dios Momo* (Madrid, 1627), fol. 118v.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Doña Trápala Trápala*,/ *dotor Albórbola*,/ *licenciado Bulla*, and *bachiller Chacota* in the *Premática de las cotorreras*, *Obras en prosa*, p. 43.

<sup>36</sup> *Juan Polanco* in "Vida y muerte de Maladros" (Hill, p. 86), and *Palancón* in Quevedo's "Postrimerías de un rufián" (*Obras en verso*, p. 273).

<sup>37</sup> *Jayán*: "El que es respetado por todos los demás" (*Dicc. Aut.*); "... persona robusta, de gran estatura . . ." (*Dicc. Acad.*). His function as *valentón* is constant: "Que redondo va el Jayan,/ que arrojauna de braveza,/ no le quitaran la hoja,/ aunque veinte Guros vengan" (Hill, p. 102). The name *Jayán* of course could have many ironic applications; one is to give it to its precise opposite, the dwarf, as in a certain "Enano, 1603-1613," who had the official designation in the royal court of *El Jayán* (see José

*El Trepado* (p. 108) bears a name which attests the heavy beatings he has had (also called *el Robledo*, perhaps here allusive to the oaken sticks he is beaten with): ". . . más azotado que postillón, porque todos los verdugos habían probado la mano con él."<sup>38</sup>

All these are directly allusive, with the exception of *Jayán*, and betray no Baroque effort toward either obscurity or compression. *Tomás de Baranda*, however, given to the *mayordomo* who accompanies Pablos and Alonso to Alcalá (p. 76),<sup>39</sup> again reveals the rogue author's wink at his reader. This *Baranda* derives from *caló* "baranda . . . de barandar . . . 'castigar,' 'azotar,'" <sup>40</sup> in allusion to the *mayordomo*'s function of authority. *Baranda* thus highlights the main characteristic of the personage, but correspondingly forces the reader to discover its allusion.<sup>41</sup> Quevedo plainly borrowed it from the jargon but probably attributed it to a derivation from *vara* 'stick' (or 'staff' of office), and offered it to the reader as such, even though it in truth derives from Gypsy 'back,' 'shoulder.'<sup>42</sup>

Moreno Villa, *Locos, enanos, negros y niños—Siglos XVI y XVII* [México, 1939].

<sup>38</sup> *Trepa*: "El castigo que se da a uno con azotes, patadas, etc." (*Dicc. Acad.*). Cf. *el Sajado*: "Llámanme el Sajado porque tres veces me ha sajado las espaldas el barbero de los calabozos." Salas Barbadillo, *Coronas del Parnaso* (Madrid, 1635), fol. 100v.

<sup>39</sup> *Aranda*, and without *Tomás de*, in Castro (1911, p. 49). The copyist apparently distrusted the name and substituted a Spanish one known to him.

<sup>40</sup> Rafael Salillas, *El delincuente español* (Madrid, 1896), p. 233.

<sup>41</sup> A dignified name *Baranda* is rare but not unknown, at least in the 19th century: e.g., *Pedro Sains de Baranda*, author of an *España sagrada* (1850).

<sup>42</sup> George Borrow has "barandi 'Back, shoulder'" and "Barander 'Justice of peace, a person of authority. Alcalde, hombre principal.'" *The Zincoli, an Account of the Gypsies in Spain* (London, 1923), p. 368. M. L. Wagner traces it to the Sanscrit: "Il semble que tous ces mots dérivent du tsigane *barandi* . . . que se trouve aussi dans d'autres dialectes tsiganes (en Grèce *beránd*, *berándi* 'pieu horizontal qui soutient la tente; en Roumanie *barand* 'épieu, épaule) . . . et que Pott, II, 429 [*Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, Halle, 1845], considère comme le participe présent du verb sanscrit *bhri* 'fere.'" *Notes linguistiques sur l'argot barcelonais* (Barcelona, 1924), pp. 34-35. It seems that the word was first posted in Borrow's list (London, 1841), whence it was copied in subsequent vocabularies of *caló* (Gypsy dialect) and Germanesque: Luis Besses, *Diccionario de argot español* . . . (Barcelona, n.d.); Francisco Quindalé, *El gitanismo: historia, costumbres, y dialecto de los gitanos* (Madrid, 1870); Salillas (noted above). It does not appear in Hidalgo.

Yet *Baranda* is a direct borrowing and perhaps was clear to a reader of the 17th century, familiar, as he must have been, with many more *romances de germanía* than the few we have today from Hidalgo and other collections. Another name, however, *Lorenzo del Pedroso* (p. 106), similarly departs from a word in the argot, which appears in Hidalgo's "Vocabulary," but expands on it to make it identical to the more than respectable *Pedroso*. It is scarcely necessary to comment on the patently aristocratic impression of *Pedroso*, but this *Pedroso*, given pointedly to a thief, derives from the *pedro* ("llaman al vestido, que atentandolo tiene pelo, y esto usan los ladrones de noche," in Hidalgo's list, Hill, p. 119), for an especially recondite allusion to thievery, and indeed to "coat thievery," the particular *métier* of this member of the *germanía*. Or perhaps we should define the conceit exactly in terms of Gracián's *agudeza nominal*: the historical name *Pedroso* employed here for the particular *correspondencia* (to the *pedro*) which it might have. Either way, the concept of *Spitzmarke* is again relevant. The name occurs in a chapter dedicated to vignettes of different sorts of thievery; each thief outdoes his predecessor, and this is the technique of the chapter. *Merlo Díaz* is first, but "sacóle de la puja *don Lorenzo del Pedroso*," who not surprisingly specializes in stealing coats. The play on "cubrir pelo," in allusion to the 'fur night coat,' whence *Pedroso* derives, might have given some clue to the 17th century reader, even though it has bedeviled commentators of the text down to the present day:

... entró con una capa muy buena que había trocado en una mesa de trucos a la suya, que no se le cubriría pelo al que la llevó, por ser desbarbada. Usaba éste quitarse la capa, como que quería jugar, y ponerla con las otras; y luego, como que no hacía partido, iba por su capa y tomaba la que mejor le parecía y salíase" (p. 106).<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> See Castro (1927), pp. 191-192 (note). It was clear to the eminent critic that the "no se le cubriría pelo" suggested the slang commonplaces "buen pelo le va a lucir, va a echar buen pelo," etc., but these in turn (with *desbarbada*) reflect the theft under discussion and allude to the *pelo* of the *pedro*. In Castro's words: "Hasta ahora ningún editor entendió este pasaje; los impresos antiguos, Fernández Guerra y yo, estampamos 'no se la cubría pelo,' declarando yo no comprenderlo. . . ." Another entry in Hidalgo gives: "*Pedro*, capote, o tudesquillo" (Hill, p. 119). *Pedroso* could also

All the thieves' names mentioned in the series attest the knavery of their bearers: *Merlo* first, as mentioned; second *Pedroso*; third a *don Cosme*, "fingido devoto";<sup>44</sup> finally, the already mentioned *Polanco*, and "Todas estas trazas de hurtar y modos extraordinarios conocí en ellos por espacio de un mes," added at the conclusion. The names thus have typified their bearers and accompanied the exposition of methods of theft, all of them generally, except *Pedroso*, which offered the additional possibility of a suggestion of the *pedro* and a play with the textual "cubriría pelo" and *desbarbada*. The application of the name is a typically Quevedesque irony. The thief is named so not only because he has this garment, but because he *steals* them.

The initial inspiration for the use of *Pedroso* must have occurred to Quevedo early in Chap. I (Book III), where the same figure is designated *Lorenzo Iñiguez del Pedroso*, who is in bed "de mal de zaragüelles" (p. 101). This chapter ("De lo que le sucedió en la corte luego que llegó hasta que anoheció") is peculiarly replete with descriptions of and commentaries on roughish clothing. It presents an old woman who "recogía trapos dos días en la semana por las calles . . . para acomodar jubones incurables, ropillas tísicas y con dolor de costado, de los caballeros . . ." (p. 101); describes one who arrived "con sus botas de camino y su vestido pardo, con un sombrero prendidas las faldas por los dos lados" (p. 101); and continues with this vignette:

Entraron luego otros dos, el uno con una ropilla de paño, larga hasta el medio valón, y su capa de lo mismo, levantado el cuello, por que no se viese el angeo, que estaba roto. Los valones eran de chamelote, mas no era más de lo que se descubría, y lo demás de bayeta colorada (p. 101).

Tattered clothing thus characterizes the broken-down and picaresque denizens of the court, and *Pedroso* seems to have oc-

have an allusion to rusticity: *Chusón* [" . . . se dice del que tiene gracia para burlarse de otros en la conversación," *Dico. Acad.*] *del Pedroso's* name alludes ironically to his stupidity and lack of skill in speech: ". . . pues sabéis tan poco y no os dió el Señor mayor entendimiento, que lo que podáis menos habléis en presencia de vuestra desposada." Jerónimo de Alcalá y Yáñez, *El donado hablador* (1624), *B.A.E.*, XVIII, 563. *Chusón del Pedroso* is thus 'Chusón of the Rubble.'

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *Cosme de Malhagas*, false hermit and rural thief, in Castillo Solórzano, *La Garduña de Sevilla*, *B.A.E.*, XXXIII, 201 et seq.

curred, without complete clarity perhaps, to Quevedo, as symbolic of roguish clothing, before it reaches its full concretion in the 'coat-thief,' as its full possibility of allusion to both garment and thievery is realized.

Again the rogue author. *Pedroso* on the dignified model follows the process we have seen applied to the alias, but has no such function within the novel. Rather it is the pícaro Quevedo disguising his aims from the reader, challenging him to solve the riddle, as he exercises the pícaro's skills of guile and concealment.<sup>45</sup>

These pure inventions of course do not nearly exhaust the motifs, anecdotes, conceits, etc., which are founded on proper names. Our theme has been onomastic invention, but the use of names as central motivation or designation of story, character, and conceit is no less than astounding in the totality of the novel. Well known are the series of names suggesting *cristianos nuevos* given to the parents of the rogue at the beginning of the narrative: *Clemente Pablo*, *Aldonza de San Pedro*, and the maternal grandfather and great-grandfather, *Diego de San Juan* and *Andrés de San Cristóbal* (given ridiculous substitutes in the editions; see Castro, 1911). *Aldonza* is the only survival of the rustic lineage which the *Lazarillo* established (*Tomé González*, *Antona Pérez*) to parody the ancestry of the well-born and to underline the forlorn and exposed status of the rogue. Quevedo

<sup>45</sup> *Pablos* may have emerged from the underworld, stemming from some famous rogue whose hanging created a great stir. Quevedo has a *Pabillos* (also with the *s*) in his *jácara* "Refiere Mari Pizorra honores suyos y alabanzas" (*Obras en verso*, p. 270). His hanging is mentioned there and also in a *romance* from an anthology of the 17th century (Hill, p. 171; the editor mentions only that the ballad was found by him in a ms. in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid; see pp. 238-239). Cf. another or perhaps the same rogue "llamado Pabillos por mal nombre" (*Gregorio Guadaña*, p. 277), and a *Pabillos de Valladolid*, painted by Velázquez, but otherwise unknown to Moreno Villa (op. cit.). The *carretero Diego Monje* (p. 76) was perhaps also a real-life rogue. He is probably a variation on the *carretero Antón Monje* in Quevedo's "Vida y milagros de Montilla" (apud Castro, 1927, p. 52, note): "Junté diferentes muebles,/y en el carro de Antón Monje/a la villa de Madrid/ encomendé mis talones" (*Obras en verso*, p. 264). Cf. *Antón Monge*, but without any reference to his trade of *carretero*, in "Venganza de Cantarote" from Hidalgo's collection (Hill, p. 80).

takes the process of the prototype but compounds it with the contemporary parody of *cristianos nuevos*, doubling the onomastic message.

The ruse and chase based on *Poncio Aguirre* > *Poncio Pilato* (p. 71) is another onomastic motif.<sup>46</sup> A masterpiece of guile, also, emerges from the rogue's comparison of the chicken call *pío, pío* to the pope's name and Pablos' profit thereby (omitted from ms. Bueno; see Castro, 1927, pp. 80-84). Gracián's *agudeza nominal* explained how a name might contain numerous suggestions and *correspondencias*. In *pío, pío*, the process is the reverse, as the non-onomastic sound of the call evokes the name of the pope to make the *burla* possible. Elsewhere, however, the name of *Pío* (V) itself is seized upon to designate a prostitute: instead of the sound of the name, the historical figure itself provides a commentary on the prostitute's activities—that is, the name *Pío Quinto* is given to the prostitute in ironic reference to that pope's suppression of prostitution in Rome.<sup>47</sup>

The peculiar emphasis on plays with proper names which is typical of the era reached its most complex development in

<sup>46</sup> Also developed in "Vida y milagros de Montilla" (op. cit., p. 263); "Ponce se llamó mi padre, / y a los muchachos los Ponce / lo juntaron a Pilatos, / echándolo yo a Leones."

<sup>47</sup> *Premática de las cotorreras*, ed. cit., p. 43. Quevedo lauds an *Historia de Pío Quinto* of a Reinoso in the *España defendida* (ed. cit., p. 294). A contemporary of Quevedo, Antonio de Fuenmayor, writes many pages on this aspect of the pope's activities: "Estaban esparcidas por Roma gran número de ramerías, en los más nobles barrios, la corrupción de la República . . . Mandó Pío, debaxo de grandes penas, en quince días se saliesen del Estado de la Iglesia; pero pareciendo más dificultoso, lo moderó en que a ciertos barrios se recogiesen. Vedoles el salir de allí, ni para pasearse. Fué tristísima ley para todos. . . ." *Vida y hechos de Pío Quinto* (1595), ed. Lorenzo Riber (Madrid, 1953), p. 76. Pius was firm in spite of the outcries of the senators of the city, who owned the houses that the courtesans used: "'San Luis desterró las ramerías de Francia. ¿Tendré en más a Solón? ¿Imitaré a los Corintios, o a los Hebreos? Echólas de su ejército Scipión sobre Numancia, ¿y queréis mayor licencia que la de un campo de soldados?' Desterró las más escandalosas; recogióse las otras, aunque tan forzadas, que algunas se casaron, y muchas dejaron la mala vida. Las que, roto el freno a la vergüenza, en nada repararon, compelió a oír sermones en días señalados, y, muertas en su ruín trato, las enterraban en estiércol" (p. 80).

Quevedo. In the *Buscón* it has revealed how the author is in league with his pícaro; how the obsessions with deceit and guile so prominent in seventeenth-century Spanish literature have found projections into the very language of conceptism itself; how, indeed, the ideal of deception traditional in the pícaro is paralleled by the ideal of linguistic wit natural to conceptism.

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THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE IN THE PLAYS OF  
JUAN RUIZ DE ALARCÓN

ALARCÓN'S theatre is a mirror which reflects, in distinct and lucid focus, the dignity of man in his striving for and attainment of moral victory. Generally, the mirror reflects traditional situations concerned with the restitution of familial honor, the entrance into holy matrimony, or the defense of king and state. In the pursuit of these ends, the truly noble species of moral dignity is seen to flourish most richly on the elevated plane inhabited by those endowed with the idealism, will, and fortitude needed to prevail over the forces of evil found in nature and in society.

Another image, reflected not very extensively but with brilliant intensity, is the spectre of a menace to his faith coming from without. The *comedia* form—less contained and structured perhaps than is usual with Alarcón—is here adapted to the vivid representation of an extraordinary theme.<sup>1</sup> The author is concerned, chiefly, with two things: the dangers besetting the Catholic Church in post-Tridentine Spain and, simultaneously, the fearful havoc wrought upon the moral being of man as he plods his way, often grotesquely, brutally, and erringly, through a morass of ambivalence and deception until—either through intellectual enlightenment or miraculous revelation—he is saved, morally and spiritually, in his realization and acceptance of the truth of orthodoxy.

The strength and traditionalism of Alarcón's faith, as it is revealed in his works, is at least as deeply rooted and profoundly significant as the stoicism, the rationalistic manner and detached humanism so frequently ascribed to him,<sup>2</sup> and yet the matter of

<sup>1</sup> Angel Valbuena Prat in his *Historia de la literatura española* (Barcelona, 1950), II, 468, comments thus on religious motives in Alarcón: "Apenas roza la comedia sacra de la época. Salvo los motivos que más bien son de magia o basados en hechos históricos—sólo una obra entra de lleno en el drama sacro: *El Anticristo* . . . Alarcón no ignoraba la teología, y en la misma obra se acuerda de un pasaje de Santo Tomás sobre los milagros aparentes."

<sup>2</sup> Among those who stress the Senecan and essentially secular or non-religious foundations of Alarcón's moral values are: Antonio Castro Leal in

religion has been, on the whole, overlooked or rather skeptically treated by writers on Alarcón.<sup>3</sup> It seems to me that Alarcón was deeply concerned with the spectral images of Luther, Calvin, and other possible threats to his faith<sup>4</sup> and that this concern, being so overpowering, caused him to raise his voice in extraordinary surges of emotion which, when necessary, went beyond the finely chiseled outlines normally preferred by this poet.

One example of this phenomenon, and a fitting overture to the religious *opera* of Alarcón, are two little known sonnets which are included in Fernández-Guerra's pioneer work on Ruiz de Alarcón: *Al Santo Cristo que se halló en Prete, ciudad del Palatinado In-*

such works as his edition of *La verdad sospechosa* (Mexico, 1934), in *Ingenio y sabiduría de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón* (Mexico, 1937), and in *Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, su vida y su obra* (Mexico, 1943); Emilio Abreu Gómez, "Los graciosos en el teatro de Ruiz de Alarcón" *Investigaciones Lingüísticas*, III, Nos. 3 & 4 (1935) and in his *Ruiz de Alarcón, bibliografía crítica* (Mexico, 1939); Angel Valbuena Prat, *Literatura dramática española* (Barcelona, 1930) and in his *Historia de la literatura española* (Barcelona, 1950); Julio Jiménez Ruada, *Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y su tiempo* (Mexico, 1939); Alfonso Reyes, *Capítulos de literatura española* (Mexico, 1939).

<sup>3</sup> To my knowledge only Joaquín Casaldueiro in "El gracioso de *El Anticristo*," *NEFH*, VIII (1954), 307-315, has given serious and fairly extensive treatment of the religious element in a play by Alarcón. The same author, in an earlier study, had posed a basic question with respect to the problem of reason and religion as applicable to Alarcón: "En la historia de nuestro teatro hay que explicar todavía el caso de Alarcón. ¿Alarcón era una excepción o bien representaba una tendencia viable, pero que, tempranamente florecida, tenía que agotarse en el clima barroco de su época y podía sólo dar fruto en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII y en tierra de Francia?" "Contribución al estudio del tema de Don Juan en el teatro español," *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, XIX, Nos. 3, 4 [April-July 1938], p. 81.)

<sup>4</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo, *Hist. de los heterodoxos españoles*, IV, 122, gives an account of a trial of heretics, including a few suspected of favoring Lutheranism, who were prosecuted in the first *auto de fe* held in Mexico (1574). Very possibly Alarcón may have read accounts of this *auto* or it may have been known to him as very close "living history." Alarcón was in Madrid in 1624 during the famous trial of the Catalonian, Ferrer, accused of Calvinism and burned alive near the Gate of Alcalá in an *auto de fe* attended by many people of note. On p. 377 Menéndez y Pelayo gives an account of the exploits and execution (1600) of the *morisco* Román Ramírez, necromancer and magician of Deza, who is the prototype for Alarcón's Román Ramírez in *Quien mal anda en mal acaba*. In both the historical source and in Alarcón's play, Ramírez makes a pact with the devil, giving him his soul in exchange for magical powers.

ferior, quitado de la cruz y hecho pedazos por los calvinistas, restaurado por los católicos, el licenciado Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón dirige estos sonetos.<sup>5</sup>

¿Qué, aún no los del imperio palestino  
Agravios y tormentos han cesado?  
¿Qué, aún, no os basta, Jesús, haber llegado,  
Para no ser posible, a ser divino?  
¿Qué, aún hoy es palestino el Palatino?  
Moristes; ¡y protervo y obstinado  
Más allá de la muerte ha dilatado  
Vuestra pasión y su crueldad Calvino?  
¿Qué, aún no os dejó en la cruz porque sabía  
Que es el trono también de la victoria  
Vuestra, si fué el teatro del suplicio?  
Pues vuélvaos a la cruz la afeción pía  
Del católico celo; y por más gloria,  
Os repita en su altar el sacrificio.

SECOND SONNET<sup>6</sup>

Nunca vista rigor, violenta mano,  
Obstinada impiedad: que aún en el cielo  
No está seguro del rigor del suelo  
El que piadoso reina soberano!  
Representa el divino Ser humano  
Su imagen, su trasunto; cuyo velo  
Rompe atrevido, con mortal desvelo,  
El que bárbaro ostenta el de tirano.  
¡Oh cruel aquel que ejecutó el tormento  
Impío; el que aleve, su dolor renueva:  
Pues de la *efigie Dios* rompe los lazos!  
Acreditas, Señor, el sufrimiento  
De la impiedad que tu piedad aprueba  
Dándote todo entero hecho pedazos.

The Palatinate, seat of heresy and apostasy, becomes for Alarcón the stage for the reenacting of a scene of sacrifice which

<sup>5</sup> Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, *D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza* (Madrid, 1871), p. 350. Fernández-Guerra judges the date of the sonnets to be approximately 1621.

<sup>6</sup> In the opinion of F. Guerra, *op cit.*, p. 502, n. 446, the second sonnet is of lesser importance and is therefore relegated to the notes.

mankind thought could not be repeated. The holy image must be replaced and the sacrifice symbolically performed at the altar by "Catholic zeal." The poet's astonished dismay and incredulity in the fact of this barbarous act of desecration are given voice in the four pointedly placed instances of "Qué, aún" of the first sonnet and ultimately resolved in the reassuring "Pues" which foretells the only action possible—that of restitution upon the cross and sacrifice upon the altar.

So frequently in Alarcón's plays does the "católico estandarte"<sup>7</sup> triumph over the infidel, the apostate, and the tergiversating doubters of the true faith, that one wonders at the frequent assertion on the part of his critics that the religious element is either completely lacking or, at best, obliquely introduced.

The impassioned tone used to decry blasphemy and to warn of retribution in the sonnets is heard with far more resonance in the plays of religious motive. Thus, in the *Anticristo*<sup>8</sup> whose dominant theme is the inability of certain people to distinguish between the true Messiah and the false, the true prophet, Elías, whose warning is disbelieved by the people, thunders!: "Generación depravada /

<sup>7</sup> The aggrieved hero of *Los Favores del mundo*, Garcí-Ruiz de Alarcón, in the opening scene contrasts his soldierly heroism with the unhealthy state of personal dishonor with which he is burdened (1b): "Yo, que por mi espada he sido / El asombro de la guerra, / Y que en tan diversas partes / Fijé, a pesar del pagano / Y el hereje, con mi mano / Católicos estandartes. . . ." (All textual references are to the edition of Hartzenbusch [Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1946], *BAE*, Vol. XX. The three columns of the text are here designated a, b, c, following the page number.)

<sup>8</sup> A. Valbuena Prat, *Hist. de la lit. española* (Barcelona, 1950), II, 469, thus judges *El Anticristo*: "Pero ¡qué absurda acumulación de horrores, de incestos y parricidios, para hacer odioso al protagonista; qué abuso de los vuelos, apariciones y superficial milagrería. Una obra que quiso ser de empuje y que demostró una absoluta ineptitud, . . . demuestra una actitud casi negativa en el sentimiento religioso de la época." Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos* (Madrid, 1927), I, LIX-LX (Introduction), praises the "alta inspiración religiosa" of the *Anticristo*. In the *Estudios de crítica histórica y literaria* (Argentina, 1944), III, 125, however, Menéndez y Pelayo judges that *El Anticristo* is "uno de sus dramas mejor escritos, aunque peor concebidos." On p. 201, in a comment on the possibly disputable authorship of *El condenado por desconfiado* which someone wished to attribute to Alarcón, Menéndez y Pelayo says: "No hay más que comparar *El Anticristo* de Alarcón con *El condenado por desconfiado*, para ver que jamás Alarcón pudo elevarse a tan altas esferas teológicas."

Rebelde y adulterina / Pues no merecéis piedad, / Sentiréis de Dios la ira" (366 a). Just before this, the prophetic voice is raised to comment on the evil time which has come upon the people. "En tiempo estáis; mirad que se avecina / Del universo la fatal rüina" (366 a). The *gracioso*, who frequently gleans the truth through a comic muddle or a fortuitous revelation, is of a simple intelligence which wavers confusedly in the face of alternatives. Thus, the rather elemental Balán, upon seeing the Antichrist in whom he had believed, going off with a figure of a demon, cries out: "Extraña es la confusión / Y el peligro en que me hallo, / Pues no va en averiguallo / Menos que la salvación" (370 a). It is in the humorously treated conversion of the Jew, Balán, that allusion is made to what was, perhaps, the primary concern of Alarcón with respect to the religious crisis of his era.<sup>9</sup> The ingenuous Balán and a Christian soldier are working out the terms of a wager they have made: each is to name a saint of his religion and, simultaneously, to pluck a hair from his opponent's head. The one who names the greatest number of saints is the winner and his prize is to be his opponent's conversion. At one point in this broad-comedy scene the Christian soldier names the ten thousand Virgins and plucks out a roughly commensurate handful of hair. Balán cries out: "¡ Triste de mí, / Que de una vez me has pelado! / Vencido y calvo he quedado" (371 a). To the soldier's reminder of the wager, "Conviértete, pues vencí" (371 a), Balán queries, "¿ Puede un calvo ser cristiano?" (371 a) and then later he observes, "De una vez hecho me has / Ser cristiano y calvinista" (371 b).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Obviously, neither Judaism nor Islam represented any "clear and present danger" to 17th century Spain. J. Casaldueiro aptly states: "Los judíos tienen, como es natural, personalidad propia: me parece, sin embargo, que en el Barroco español hay que ver en ellos frecuentemente una alusión al protestantismo" (op. cit. [above, note 3], p. 313).

<sup>10</sup> In *Los pechos privilegiados* humorous reference is made to Calvin in a scene involving Ramiro and the symbolically named *gracioso* Cuaresma. The latter, an appropriately famelic creature, has just extolled the saintliness of the well fed. Ramiro observes (423b): "Calvino solo aconseje / Amar esa santidad." And Cuaresma replies: "La hambre es necesidad / Y tiene cara de hereje." Similarly, in a *gracioso* scene in *El tejedor de Segovia*, Segunda Parte, Chichón, having just been persuaded (and suborned) by Fineo to serve the amorous intentions of the latter's master, comments (400a): "Por cierto que has predicado / Tan eficaz, que imagino / Que si te oyera Calvino, / Hubiera su error dejado."

Another mold in which Alarcón casts the religious theme is that of the "comedia de moros y cristianos." In *La Manganilla de Melilla*, richly baroque in its complicated polyphony, we have a series of sincere conversions, each anticipated by a corresponding series of false conversions. The vitality, vehemence, and urgency with which each character or group of characters—Alima, the Moorish heroine; Acén, the voluptuary and her captor; the Moorish host—embraces Christ gives the reader pause. The frame of the traditional, stylized Moorish-Christian comedy theme seems to have been stretched and extended to include the contemporaneous theme of the colossus of erroneous belief which loomed darkly and ominously from the North. Alarcón and his audience, writing or attending a play on a religious theme, could scarcely have avoided allusions to the faith whose strength was in danger of crumbling before their very eyes. In this Moorish-Christian drama Alarcón does not fail to include the pathetic, grotesque figure of the *gracioso*, Salomón, a Jew. His comic and expedient conversion underscores, perhaps, the great and urgent need which all men ought to feel with respect to their salvation. On the *gracioso* level, of course, the need is presented physically and comically, but its significance is not thereby diminished. Salomón has, furthermore, just been miraculously spared by a passing lion of disdainful but gentle nature. Still tied, however, to a tree trunk where he had been left, by his mortal enemy Pimienta, with the words "Hasta que venga el Mesías / A libraros" (313 a), Salomón calls for mercy. A recently ransomed Christian, Rodrigo by name, en route to Spain after three years of captivity, hears the Jew's plea but does not, at first, untie him. It is not until Salomón invokes the name of the Deity that Rodrigo loosens his bonds, exacting from him conversion as the price of freedom.<sup>11</sup>

Alarcón further elaborates this drama of faith with an example of a very great human love which is yet vanquished and surpassed by a greater love, that of man or woman for God. Alima, the beautiful Moorish captive, who had at first falsely professed her

<sup>11</sup> Another instance of the power of invoking a holy name occurs in *Favores del mundo* when García, about to finish off with a dagger his mortal enemy, D. Juan, whom he has just wounded, restrains his blood-thirsty if honorable furor when D. Juan utters the phrase "Válgame la Virgen!" (2b).

wish to leave Allah for Christ, later experiences and manifests a sincere desire not only to accept the new faith but also to abandon her love for the perfect Christian knight, Vanegas, whom she has deeply loved. She explains to a friend: "No, Arlaja, no, porque mal / Humano y divino amor / Caben en un pecho mismo. / Otra soy de la que fui, / Sólo el de Dios arde en mí, / Sólo aspiro ya al bautismo" (318 b-c). In the concluding scene Alima succeeds in converting Acén, her erstwhile pursuer, to whom she readily vows that she will never wed. In the mystical-religious tone, explicit in Alima's words and actions, we understand that she is preparing for union with God.

If, in Alarcón's theatre, reason, knowledge and intelligence frequently assume powerful and decisive roles in man's working out of his fate and destiny, these gifts or qualities are always acknowledged to be God-given and circumscribed by dogma.<sup>12</sup> It is evident that Alarcón wrestled with moral and intellectual questions and that his ultimate resolutions were set in a logical, reasonable frame well within the limits of dogma.<sup>13</sup> His heroes and heroines may be said to act on the basis of reason, reasonableness, or ratiocination. The *gracioso* is not infrequently called upon to embody man's power of reasoning. In spite of quick-witted, wily patterns of action, however, very frequently the *gracioso's* solutions to problems, especially those of a moral nature, end in dismal failure precisely because his reasoning does not function in accord with

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of the Catholic concept of reason and free will as they are exemplified in Alarcón's works see Mussia Sackheim, *Die Lebensphilosophie des Dichters D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza* (Berlin, 1936); José Gómez de las Cortinas, "La génesis de *Las paredes oyen* de Ruiz de Alarcón," *RFE*, XXXV (Jan.-June 1951). Cf. Basil Willey, *The Seventeenth Century Background* (New York, 1934), p. 13, in which he quotes I. A. Richards, *Mencius on the Mind*, p. 111 ff.: "In St. Thomas Aquinas Aristotle is harmonised with Paul and Augustine, metaphysics with revelation, reason with faith. In this great synthesis theology was supreme . . . [and truth] . . . depended ultimately upon its being consistent with a body of given and of course unquestionable doctrine."

<sup>13</sup> For a basic discussion of the forms in which Catholic reason manifests its presence in Baroque Spanish literature see J. Casaldüero, *Sentido y forma del Quijote* (Madrid, 1949), pp. 249, 243 et passim; Leo Spitzer, "Soy quien soy," *NRFH*, I (1947), 124-127; J. Casaldüero, "Fuenteovejuna," *RFE*, V (1943), 31-41.

the more traditional codes of honorable behavior.<sup>14</sup> He often fails, concretely, to accomplish his own purposes or those directed to the welfare of his master. Another type of failure is that in which the *gracioso* sinks lower and lower into the mire of unscrupulousness or immorality.<sup>15</sup>

Alarcón's real hero is a person who knows himself and the world in which he lives and who acts reasonably but also religiously on that knowledge. The noble Don Fernando, the very nearly Promethean hero of *El tejedor de Segovia*, commits acts which indeed appear to go beyond the limits of human strength and endurance. His purpose in life is to deal death and justice to an inimical noble family which had brought ignominy and near destruction upon his own. Before delivering the fatal blow to his enemy, the noble, Don Fernando, still in the guise of the simple weaver Pedro Alonso, cries out: "No admiréis mi atrevimiento; / Que yo aquí para con vos / De la justicia de Dios / Soy el humano instrumento" (411 b-c). While it is true that man grows in importance and stature as he takes upon himself certain functions generally delegated to organized ecclesiastic or societal bodies, his confidence is tempered and he is saved from excessive pride and arrogance by a constant awareness of the spring and source of all of man's physical and moral strength. The count in *El tejedor*, before dying, expresses his incredulity at seeing the living figure of Don Fernando whom he had thought long since dead. He wonders if by some miracle Don Fernando has been raised from the dead. The "weaver" corrects the count's view and establishes, once again, a nice distinction between things human and things divine, asserting with pride his human achievements but attributing to Heaven the source of his resistance: "No quiero que mi valor / Deslustréis, atribuyendo / A milagro soberano / Las hazañas de mi mano; / Y aunque justamente entiendo / Que es el cielo que ordena / Que yo os castigue . . ." (412 a).

Don Fernando's reference to "mi mano" is both literal and

<sup>14</sup> Among the *graciosos* who, with their "practical" kind of intelligence, perform one erring disservice after another to their masters (in spite of their unswerving loyalty and devotion) is Campana, in *Los empeños de un engaño*.

<sup>15</sup> One example would be Zaratán, the symbolically named *gracioso* of *La crueldad por el honor* who ill conceals his sloth and cowardice through a tone of pseudo-rationalism.



symbolic. On one occasion he freed himself from iron fetters by biting off his thumbs, thus enabling his hands to slip through the bonds. At another time, he released himself from ropes which bound his hands by the daring expedient of approaching a fire and burning the offending rope. And yet, when in a foray against the Moors he succeeds in animating the retreating Spanish army to return and pursue to defeat the onrushing Moslem host, he modestly expresses his thanks to God: "¡Gracias / Os hago, Señor inmenso, / Que de las piedades vuestras / El tesoro habéis abierto" (413 b).

*La cueva de Salamanca*, frequently viewed by critics as an unsuccessful theatrical venture, may perhaps be more justly and more profitably studied as a kind of excursion into the realm of epistemology. While it is undoubtedly true that here, as in the *Anticristo*, Alarcón explored rather extravagantly the fascinating new stage techniques which were being made available—floating angels, flying devils, disappearing bodies, talking bronze heads, etc., all contrived by trapeze-like devices, trap-doors and similar inventions—it is also true that here, as in *El Anticristo*, he is concerned with a major problem, in this case, an intellectual one. Enrico, disciple of Merlin and the learned necromancer of *La cueva de Salamanca*, is called to task by an ecclesiastical court before which he defends his magical science as perfectly legitimate. His proof is based, primarily, on this syllogism: "Toda ciencia natural / Es lícita, y usar della / Es permitido; la magia / Es natural: luego es buena" (99 a). Ultimately, however, the wizard Enrico and his distinguished admirer, the Marqués de Villena, do obeisance not to the gods of science and reason but rather to an ecclesiastical tribunal which corrects and tempers their pseudo-scientific beliefs. In the colorful setting of this court, resplendent in full panoply, there are enunciated in strictly logical terms, apparently completely satisfactory to Enrico, the Church doctor's rebuttal to Enrico's erstwhile protestation of truth with respect to "scientific" theories and experiments. Enrico hearkens to the argument that natural and artificial magic do exist and are not illicit but that the devil has used these two as a clever means of concealing the third type which is diabolical and, of course, illicit. His arguments appear to Enrico so logical and convincing that he

reneges and admits his error: "Yo digo / Que tienen tanta agudeza / Los contrarios argumentos, / Que convencido me dejan" (100 a).

A play in which Alarcón does not treat any problem of religion must be briefly mentioned before concluding because it has been the subject of censure on the part of some critics who take exception to the suicide in the dénouement. *El dueño de las estrellas* is, basically, the story of the learned and wise Lyeurgus which Alarcón undoubtedly adapted from Plutarch. Although the circumstance of Lyeurgus' death is changed by the addition of a typically seventeenth-century crisis of love, honor, and loyalty to king, one can scarcely overlook the fact that the story is drawn from antiquity and that the triumphant survival of Lyeurgus would have been an offense to the classic sensibilities of the author and of a segment of his public as well. It might further be observed that of all the dramas of Alarcón, *El dueño de las estrellas* is the one in which perhaps the greatest effort is made to recreate a feeling and setting of remoteness. One is somehow very conscious of ancient Crete, of the oracle of Apollo, and of a certain air of authenticity which surrounds the central figure of Lyeurgus. The points wherein Alarcón departs utterly from the sources of antiquity are precisely those episodes concerning the lax moral nature of the king and the consequences of the king's immoral intentions and actions. If Alarcón's audience took away any lesson, it would not have been any moralization with respect to suicide but rather a pointed and significant example of what can happen to the body politic when the head, in this case the king, is morally unworthy of his name and station. By his suicide, the traditional suicide for honor of antiquity, Lyeurgus saves himself from disgrace (in his absence his wife Diana has been tricked and almost seduced by the king) and enables the king to redeem himself by wedding at once the widowed Diana. Similarly, Calderón's King Basilio in *La vida es sueño* is saved—physically and morally—from the nearly catastrophic consequences of his exaggerated pride and faith in reason and "science" as a weapon against destiny, because a more potent force, man's will (represented, of course, by Segismundo) asserts itself, conquering passions as well as sidereal prophecy and creating its own destiny. Lyeurgus is similarly the instrument, in this case the tragic instrument, whereby destiny is cheated and the king is redeemed from his sin of sensuality.

In the case of Lysurgus one must keep in mind that according to the tradition established by Plutarch as well as in much of Alarcón's play, he is assumed to be the possessor of infinite wisdom and knowledge and of extraordinary rational powers. It is therefore significant that he should be chosen by this playwright as a truly tragic hero. Because of the essentially pagan setting of *El dueño de las estrellas* one might infer that what Alarcón was trying to portray here was not so much the sin of intellectual pride and arrogance as the tragedy of mankind's vain effort to create a rational universe.

It would seem, then, that for Alarcón, man is indeed "noble in reason" but that reason and intelligence must be either humanly or divinely directed to the perception of truth. In my opinion, Alarcón's orderly, conservative view of religion, together with the ennobling stress upon a knowledge of the great literary and philosophical works of antiquity, place him in a sphere close to Christian Humanism.<sup>16</sup> As the learned Enrico in *La cueva de Salamanca* asserts, "Fin del estudio es saber" and "... en la razón que tienes / El cielo te mejoró" (85 a). The true prophet Elías warns the faltering populace about to embrace the Antichrist: "Porque de Dios conozcas la justicia, / Te ha dado entendimiento y ciencias tales, / Que en discernir los bienes de los males / Ninguno te aventaja . . ." (364 b). Contrasting with pure, divine intelligence is the impure and sinful, often assuming the form of the pure. The mother of Antichrist, after revealing the incestuous conception of her son, refers to his extraordinary intellectual powers which, nevertheless have led only to evil inclinations (360 a).

Alarcón's plays lead to two conclusions with respect to the moral and spiritual being of man. Human behavior is dignified, virtuous, and noble when it can overcome the baser passions.<sup>17</sup> Spiritual truth may be available in many guises and on many

<sup>16</sup> See Henri Bremond, *Hist. littéraire du sentiment religieux en France* (Paris, 1916), I (*L'Humanisme dévot 1580-1660*).

<sup>17</sup> One of the most perfect examples of such a moral victory is the marquis in *Ganar amigos* who fulfills his pledge of protection to Don Fernando even after he learns that the latter is his brother's assassin. The *gracioso*, Encinas, likewise conducts himself in an admirable manner and comments thus on his "noble" behavior: (354e) "¡Tienen almas diferentes / En especie nuestros amos! / Muchos criados ¡no han sido / Tan nobles como sus dueños!"

levels to all kinds of people—ranging from the ignorant fool to the learned and gifted man of science—and errors in faith may be corrected by fortuitous example, logical argument, or personal conviction through revelation. The iconoclastic colossus of disbelief and disruption which the Palatinate symbolizes in the sonnets caused Alarcón like so many others of his time, to reaffirm his faith.<sup>18</sup> In the *Anticristo* it is only the bestial figure of the false Messiah who dares say: “Que no merece la fe / Donde la duda no cabe” (364 b), whereas Sofía, divine wisdom incarnate, affirms: “Aquí de mi religión / Conocerás la verdad” (370 b).

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<sup>18</sup> Fernández-Guerra, op. cit. p. 450, records a most interesting fragment of a sonnet written by Alarcón on the occasion of an eruption of Mt. Vesuvius on Dec. 16, 1631. Once again, the prophetic, fearful and warning voice of the poet is heard not only with reference to this particular catastrophe but, implicitly, with respect to transcendental events in human life: “¡Oh humano sueño! ¡Oh necia confianza! / Despierta ya; que el cielo, en el que miras / Te ofrece avisos del mayor estrago. / Y si irrita sus iras tu tardanza, / ¡Cuál será, cuál, el golpe de sus iras, / Si son tales las iras de su amago?” /

## VARIA

### APOSTILLA A LA "QUEMA DE LAS NAVES" POR CORTÉS

Pocos habrá que no hayan echado mano alguna vez de la socorrida expresión "*quemar las naves*," cuya traducción inglesa corre paralela a "*to burn one's bridges*." En dos trabajos recientes,<sup>1</sup> Winston A. Reynolds ha hecho resaltar su importancia y deslindado su trayectoria histórica y matices léxicos, hasta ahora insuficientemente explicados. Es precisamente el mérito indiscutible de estos trabajos, y la actualidad que han dado al problema, lo que ha inspirado esta apostilla.

Desechada la autenticidad histórica de la quema de las naves por Cortés, estamos de acuerdo en que habrá que atribuir el origen de la leyenda a que "writers and non-writers, began to compare the conqueror with Graeco-Latin heroes of antiquity," en los que se encuentran antecedentes de la quema de naves en circunstancias más o menos parecidas.<sup>2</sup> En cuanto a su primera mención escrita, Reynolds cita, en primer lugar, una frase alusiva en la descripción de un túmulo erigido en México para celebrar las exequias por la muerte de Carlos V. Dichas ceremonias tuvieron lugar en 1559 y el libro en que se describen apareció en 1560.<sup>3</sup> En el monumento funerario había, entre otras, una pintura "which showed Cortés marching inland with his *burned and beached* ships in the background." Y añade Reynolds que "the first reference found to the legend in writing was by the historian [?] Juan de Martínez, who in 1566 [sic] made the statement in passing that Cortés burned his vessels. . . ."<sup>4</sup> Sobre este particular aportaremos nuevos datos que contribuirán a precisar el origen de la leyenda.

Comencemos por esta segunda mención. Se halla en una "Relación detallada de los sucesos ocurridos durante el viaje de la nao San Jerónimo que salió de Acapulco bajo el mando de Pero Sánchez Pericón y por piloto [sic] a Lope Martín, con el objeto de llevar auxilios a Legazpi, y la noticia del arribo a Nueva España del navío San Pedro. Fué escrita dicha rela-

<sup>1</sup> "The Burning Ships of Hernán Cortés," *Hispania*, XLII (1959), no. 3, 317-324 y "To Burn One's Boats or To Burn One's Bridges?," *American Speech*, XXXIV (1959), 95-100.

<sup>2</sup> Reynolds, "The Burning Ships . . .," pág. 321.

<sup>3</sup> *Túmulo imperial/ de la gran ciudad de Mexico.* / En Mexico. / Por Antonio de Espinosa / 1560. Reimpreso por Joaquín García Icazbalceta en *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1886), págs. 97-121.

<sup>4</sup> Reynolds, "The Burning Ships . . .," pág. 320.

ción en Cebú a 25 de julio de 1567, por Juan Martínez, *que iba de soldado en la propia nao* [subrayamos nosotros]. Nárrase en ella además lo ocurrido en aquel campo desde su llegada hasta la fecha de la misma relación."<sup>5</sup> El pasaje en que se hace referencia a la quema merece ser citado, a pesar de lo extenso, ya que la fuente no es de fácil acceso; servirá, además, como muestra del estilo, más propio de un soldado que de un culto historiador:

"y ansí pensaba [el piloto] ser otro marques del valle de quien una noche le vi proponer una autoridad no menos maliciosa que cautelosa diciendo que quando desembarco en la vera cruz hizo a su gente de consuno una oración o parlamento en que se contenía que su yntento hera de entrar a sus aventuras la tierra adentro con gente que para ello tenia que los que en contrario no tenian esta voluntad antes a la ysla de cuba bolver pretendian se lo dixesen que el los aviaria dandoles Recaudo de lo que tenia y que los unos a un cabo y los otros a otro se apartasen para dello hazer memoria y que quando esto huvo efecto a los que se avian apartado para yr con el les avia rrendido muchas gracias con protestacion de galardonar e a los otros ultrajo baldono y afrento muy gravemente diziendoles que aunque les pesase auian de yr con el y que los castigaria y trataria conforme quien heran y que ansi lo hizo y *dio fuego a las naves* [subrayamos nosotros] esto dezia el a fin de que la gente que el escociese para llevar consigo no le osase negar ni contradecir . . ." (págs. 402-403).

El autor de la "Relación" menciona de pasada "el omero y virgilio" (pág. 371), cita a Plinio (pág. 380) y en una ocasión habla de "tributar a atropos hasta veinte de los nuestros" (pág. 381). A estos tópicos se reduce su equipaje clásico; fuera de ellos, ni el tono ni el estilo parecen indicar una sólida formación humanística. Además, alude a la quema de las naves por Cortés como a algo ya sabido y, por otra parte, el escrito donde aparece permaneció inédito hasta fines del siglo XIX. Todo lo cual hace de Juan Martínez un propagador más de algo ya establecido.

Volvamos ahora a la alusión que se ha considerado como más temprana, la del túmulo imperial erigido a la memoria de Carlos V en México. Dice su autor al describir los adornos del monumento: "En el cuadro que cae hacia la capilla de Sant Joseph, en el mismo pedestal, estaba Don Hernando Cortés a caballo con la bandera real en las manos con otros algunos, y los demás a pie marchando la tierra adentro. *Los navíos en que pasó, quemados y echados al través* [subrayamos nosotros].

<sup>5</sup> En *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar*, 2a. serie, III (Madrid 1887), págs. 371-475.

Daba a entender esta figura cómo Don Hernando Cortés, acometiendo en los dichosos días de César el más grande hecho que capitán en el mundo comprendió por principio maravilloso en tierra tan larga, tan poblada de gente no conocida, *dió con los navíos al través* [subrayamos nosotros], poniendo ánimo a los suyos con quitarles la esperanza de la vuelta.<sup>6</sup> Es curioso que en un mismo párrafo se ofrezca tal duplicidad de perspectivas. La primera, basada en una interpretación artística—el cuadro—de la realidad aludida, se atempera inmediatamente con el “*echados al través*” que la acompaña; la segunda, apegada al hecho histórico, no precisa de ambages: “*dió con los navíos al través.*”<sup>7</sup> Todo lo cual, lejos de resolver el problema, lo complica. Pero quizás una indagación más detenida sobre el autor del *Túmulo imperial* y sus obras contribuya a esclarecerlo. Fue aquel Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, toledano, de cuya sólida formación humanística cabrá darse idea con los siguientes datos biográficos: estudió en Salamanca, “fue con el muy manífico señor Licenciado Giron a flandes: aunque por su diligencia lo que le faltava del estudio quieto ganava con la conuersacion de muchos varones doctos con quien por alla cõuerso,”<sup>8</sup> tuvo el puesto de secretario latino del cardenal Loaisa—arzobispo de Sevilla, gran inquisidor y presidente del Consejo de Indias—, fue seguramente catedrático de la Universidad de Osuna y más tarde, en 1553, de la de México, y escribió varias obras en latín y en castellano.<sup>9</sup> Cervantes de Salazar llegó a conocer personalmente a Cortés y, según dice,<sup>10</sup> escuchó de sus labios episodios de la conquista de Nueva España. Pero aún hay más. En Alcalá de Henares y en 1546—nótese la antelación respecto al *Túmulo* (1560) y a la “Relación” de Juan Martínez (1566)—aparece un volumen de *Obras q̄ Francisco/ Ceruantes*

<sup>6</sup> García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía* . . . , pág. 106.

<sup>7</sup> Más adelante se lee en unos versos reproducidos en el *Túmulo*: “Ver con cuán gran ventura dió Cortés/ Con todos sus navíos al través/ Buscando vida en muerte y no huir [sic]” García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía* . . . , pág. 113.

<sup>8</sup> En el “Prólogo al lector,” del maestro Alexio Venegas, que precede al *Apólogo de la ociosidad y el trabajo* en las *Obras* de Francisco Cervantes de Salazar.

<sup>9</sup> Para detalles sobre la vida y obras de Cervantes de Salazar, vid. en García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía* . . . , la “Noticia” en págs. 49–60, el prólogo de M. Magallón a la *Crónica de la Nueva España* (Madrid, 1914), también de Cervantes de Salazar, y Agustín Millares Carlo, *Cartas recibidas de España por Francisco Cervantes de Salazar* (México, 1946), “Introducción” y “Apéndices.”

<sup>10</sup> Cfr., p. ej.: “Cortés, como venía tan pujante, pareciéndole que todo el Imperio mexicano era poco, enojado de lo que había pasado, no hizo cuenta dél [Moteczuma], ni le quiso entrar a ver, lo cual fué la principal causa de la destrucción de los suyos, é así dixo, é yo [se] lo oí en Corte de Su Majestad. . . .” (Lib. IV, cap. C), cit. por Magallón en Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica* . . . , xxii, n. 3.

de Salazar, ha hecho, / glosado, y traduzido.<sup>11</sup> La primera de ellas, *Diálogo de la dignidad humana*, va encabezada por una "Epístola/ Al muy illustre señor dō/ Hernando Cortes Marques del valle/ descubridor y conquistador dela/ nueva España" en la que se lee: "Han sido causa los esclarecidos hechos que por nros ojos hemos visto que creamos los q̄ de otros teniamos por fabuloso, por ser g[r]ādes, pues estos parescen increybles; donde demas del marauilloso esfuerço con que vuestra señoria desembarco para la entrada, q̄mando luego los nauios [el subrayado es nuestro], en testimonio de su mucho valor, para quitar toda ocasion de arrepentimiento o de esperanza de toluer . . ." (a-iiiir).<sup>12</sup> La precedencia cronológica de esta mención de la quema de las naves por Cortés va acompañada de varias coincidencias significativas respecto al autor de la "Epístola"; son éstas las que en nuestra opinión refuerzan el dato citado y hacen de Cervantes de Salazar el creador consciente de la leyenda. Queda dicho ya lo de la sólida formación humanística de Cervantes de Salazar, de la que hace gala en las *Obras*<sup>13</sup> y a la cual cabría atribuir, con toda plausibilidad, el haber tropezado nuestro autor con los antecedentes greco-latinos de la quema de naves. Pero sucede también que, por las señas, es a Cervantes de Salazar a quien hay que achacar la genealogía imaginaria de Cortés, detalle sobre el cual los escritores de la época fueron, o muy lacónicos—como López de Gómara—o demasiado fantásticos. Estudiando el problema del linaje paterno de Cortés, escribe Federico Gómez de Orozco: "En el grupo de los que buscan una genealogía extraordinaria para don Hernando Cortés, está Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, quien en su *Historia de la conquista de México* dice que no es creble que Cortés

<sup>11</sup> *Obras q̄ Francisco/ Ceruantes de Salazar, ha hecho, / glosado, y traduzido. / La primera es vn Dialogo de la dignidad / del hombre, donde por manera de disputa se / trata de las grãdezas y marauillas que ay / en el hõbre, y por cõtrario de sus trabajos / y miserias, comẽçado por el maestro Oliua, / y acabado por frãcisco Ceruãtes de salazar. / La segunda es el Appologo de la ociosi- / dad y el trabajo, intitulado Labricio Por- / tundo, donde se trata con marauilloso estilo / delos grandes males dela ociosidad, y por / el contrario de los prouechos y bienes del / trabajo, Compuesto por el Protonotario / Luys Mexia glosado y moralizado por frãcisco Ceruãtes de Salazar. / La tercera es la introducción y camino pa / ra la sabiduria dõde se declara que cosa sea, / y se ponen grandes auisos para la vida hu- / mana, compuesta en latin por el excelẽte va- / ron, Luys viues buelta en Castellano, con / muchas adiciones que al proposito hazian / por francisco Ceruantes de Salazar. / Con privilegio. Se imprimió por vez primera en Alcalá de Henares, en casa de Juan de Brocar, en 1546.*

<sup>12</sup> En la edición que de la obra hizo don Francisco Cerdá y Rico en 1772 se lee, ya con ortografía modernizada, "quemando luego los nauios."

<sup>13</sup> Una simple ojeada a los apcortes de Cervantes de Salazar basta para corroborar nuestra aserción. De él escribiría andando el tiempo—1571—el obispo de Michoacán: "No sé dónde diablos se juntó tanta ciencia en un codo de cuerpo." Vid. Millares Carlo, *Cartas recibidas . . .*, pág. 37.



ignorase quiénes eran sus antepasados.”<sup>14</sup> Según esa genealogía, la familia Cortés era descendiente de los reyes de Lombardía a través del hijo segundo de uno de éstos, Gildo Cortesio, quien vino a establecerse a España en tiempo de los godos; la familia tuvo su culminación en Ahuero, lugar del Pirineo aragonés. Comenta Gómez de Orozco: “Como puede observarse, es ésta una genealogía fantástica, que si carece de sólido fundamento, despertó entusiasmo y encontró émulos que la aceptaron, como ocurre con el genealogista Salazar de Castro, el maestro *Francisco Cervantes de Salazar* [el subrayado es nuestro], el dominico Alonso Fernández, autor de la *Historia de Placencia* [sic] y Gabriel Lasso de la Vega, autor del *Cortés valeroso y Mexicana*, autores que con más o menos pormenores insertan en sus obras el relato de Argensola [subrayamos nosotros]” (pág. 300). La opinión del historiador mexicano adolece de inexactitudes. En primer lugar, por lo que toca a Lobo Lasso de la Vega, como no sea a lo que éste dice en *Elogios en loor de los tres famosos varones*: “Era este famoso capitán por la parte paterna Cortes y Monroy. Y los Corteses es cierto que proceden de vna casa de hidalgos honrados del Reyno de Aragón . . .” (fol. 37<sup>r</sup>), no vemos a qué pueda referirse Gómez de Orozco, ya que la genealogía que aparece en *Cortés valeroso* dice tan sólo:

“Era Fernán Cortés de ilustre gente,  
Nacido en Medellín de Estremadura,  
De sangre antigua, clara y preeminente . . .” (fol. 10<sup>r</sup>)

En segundo lugar, al tratar de establecer quién pudo haber lanzado a la circulación la genealogía fantástica de Cortés, convendría haber tenido en cuenta que las fechas de Argensola son 1562-1631, en tanto que Francisco Cervantes de Salazar presenta dicha genealogía en 1546 en la “Epístola” ya mencionada:

“Quedare empero cōtento con dezir q̄ no solamēte no ha v̄fa señoria de-  
generado dela esclarecida virtud de sus antes [sic] passados, mas antes  
cō mucho augmēto la ha esclarecido tanto que como ellos fuerō principio  
de mucha nobleza, ansi lo ha seydo vuestra señoria de su gloria, pues  
dexaron de si quien tambien la augmētasse, y porque vean los que ente-  
ramēte no supieren de V. S. el origē que trae de casta ser esclarecido sepan  
que este nombre de Cortes, es de Italia, lo qual paresce por Cortesio Gilgo

<sup>14</sup> “¿Cuál era el linaje paterno de Cortés?,” *Revista de Indias* (Madrid), VII (1948), 299. Esa inexistente *Historia de la conquista de México*, de Argensola, que menciona Gómez de Orozco, no es otra que los capítulos de los *Anales de Aragón* (1630) que se refieren a México y a su conquistador. Apareció con el espurio título de *Conquista de México.—Gonzalo de Illescas: Un capítulo de su ‘Historia pontifical sobre la conquista de la Nueva España’*, Introducción y notas de Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas (México: Robredo), 1940.

y Cortesio Narnes, reyes delos Longobardos, cuyos hechos son tan celebrados hasta oy delos escriptores que ponē en admiracion allector. Esto [sic] fuerō tan estimados de todas las naciones, que los reyes Godos que entonces tenian a España los truxeron a ella y della les dieron gran parte, donde valieron tanto que nuestra nacion les era mas aficionada que a los Godos que los auian llamado. Repartiose despues por toda España tãto este linage que casi ningun pueblo vuo insigne dōde no vuiesse algun noble desta familia; principalmente en aquella parte ñ España que los antiguos llamaron Lusitania extrema, que agora es estremadura, que se estēdia quasi hasta Aragon, cuyo capitán fue aquel valiente cauallero don Nuño Cortes, conde de Molina, el qual fue vencedor en aquella tan nombrada batalla delos Moros, sobre las vertientes de Cuenca y Xucar, pues quan señalados ayan sido en las letras diranlo bien los dotos y los que tratan con los autores acerca delos quales son tenidos en grãde estima Paulo Cortesio y Alexandro Cortesio, varones en la sciencia honrra ñ su tiempo, de los quales fue tan propia que aun en el sexo feminal se aposento, como en Maria cortesia, la señora de Vicencia la qual puso en admiracion a todos los que la conocieron" (b-i<sup>v</sup> - b-ii<sup>r</sup>).

A mayor abundamiento, Argensola mismo establece las precedencias de dicha genealogía: "El preciarse Aragón de Hernando Cortés, concierne tanto à su Honor, que para que los Ingenios lo publiquen, les pide vigilante curiosidad, y estudio laborioso, como a Zeladores de la gloria para su Patria. Pero Autores Castellanos se han anticipado à sacarlo a luz. De los quales, Francisco Cervantes, dedicando vn Libro al mismo Hernando Cortés (ya entonces Marqués del Valle) . . . despues de citar la dedicatoria de Cervantes de Salazar, sigue: Con Cervantes conviene Gabriel Laso de la Vega, Criado del Rey nuestro Señor, en su Libro de *Elogios*.

. . .<sup>15</sup>

Visto, pues, que es a Cervantes de Salazar a quien hay que atribuir la paternidad de esa fantástica genealogía cortesiana, cobra mayor valor aquel dato inicial que lo hacia responsable de la leyenda de la quema de las naves. Mas el análisis quedaría inconcluso si no abarcase también la *Crónica de la Nueva España* que Cervantes de Salazar escribió y no le fue restituida hasta el siglo XX.<sup>16</sup> Se recordará que en la citada descripción

<sup>15</sup> *Primera parte de los Anales de Aragón que prosigue los del Secretario Gerónimo Zurita* (Zaragoza, 1630), págs. 623-624.

<sup>16</sup> Seguramente la empezó despues de trasladarse a Nueva España y con toda probabilidad hacia 1557; cfr. Millares Carlo, *Cartas recibidas* . . . , "Apéndice I," nos. 7 y 12. Antonio de Herrera se apropió sin mucho escrúpulo del manuscrito y lo usó en su *Historia de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas y Tierra firme del mar Océano*. En 1909, don Francisco del Paso y Troncoso dio con él y lo mandó copiar. Más tarde, la historiadora norteamericana Mrs. Zelia Nutall, trabajando independientemente de Paso y Troncoso, encontró también el manus-

del *Túmulo* nuestro autor encerraba en un mismo párrafo (vid. sup., notas 6 y 7) el hecho real y el imaginado, historia y leyenda. Pues bien, una comparación entre la "Epístola" de las *Obras* y la *Crónica* ofrece un contraste semejante: predominantemente legendaria la una y sobriamente histórica la otra en los momentos paralelos de la destrucción de las naves y la genealogía cortesiana. Así dice la *Crónica* de los navíos: "Los Maestres . . . dieron al través con cinco navíos que eran de los mejores. No mucho después quebraron otros cuatro con alguna dificultad . . ."; "Visto esto . . . mandó dar Cortés a la costa con el navío que quedaba, quitando a todos la esperanza de la vuelta. . ."<sup>17</sup> Y todos aquellos desbarros genealógicos de la "Epístola" quedan ahora reducidos a una discreta exposición: "Fué Hernando Cortés, a quien Dios con los de su compañía tomó por instrumento para tan gran negocio, natural de la villa de Medellín, que es en Extremadura, una de las mejores provincias de España. Fué hijo de Martín Cortés de Monroy, no rico, aunque de noble casta, y de Da. Catalina Pizarro, del alcunia [sic] de los Pizarros y Altamiranos, también noble."<sup>18</sup>

Para explicarse este curioso contraste entre la "Epístola" y la *Crónica* habrá que tener en cuenta algo más que las diferencias de género; así como tampoco bastaría recurrir a lo de las exageraciones laudatorias acostumbradas en las dedicatorias. En la compleja causante está, por una parte, la circunstancia de que por la fecha de la dedicatoria de las *Obras*—1546—acababa de fallecer el cardenal Loaisa, protector de Cervantes de Salazar, y se hallaba éste precisado de un mecenas; puesto a lograr el favor de Cortés, Cervantes de Salazar se adentró, sin pararse en barras, por derroteros fantásticos respaldados por la tradición histórico-literaria. Y también, si se ha de dar crédito al informe del arzobispo Moya, sería cosa de tener en cuenta la personalidad misma de nuestro autor.<sup>19</sup> De

crito de la *Crónica* y dio cuenta de su hallazgo en el Congreso de Americanistas celebrado en Londres en 1912. Seguidamente, en 1914, aparecieron dos ediciones de la *Crónica*, una por la Hispanic Society of America y la otra por Paso y Troncoso. Sobre este problema vid. la "Introducción" de ambas y también Millares Carlo, *Cartas recibidas* . . . , págs. 172-164.

<sup>17</sup> Libro III, cap. XXII (cito por la ed. de la Hispanic Society of America).

<sup>18</sup> Libro II, cap. XV.

<sup>19</sup> Cfr. lo que el arzobispo Moya de Contreras dice de Cervantes de Salazar en un informe dirigido al monarca en 1575 sobre las cualidades personales del clero de su diócesis: "El canónigo Francisco Cervantes de Salazar . . . a veynte y cinco [años] que está en esta tierra, a la qual vino lego, en opinión de gran latino, aunque con la hedad a perdido algo desto . . . Es amigo de que le oygan y alaben, y agrádale la lisonja; es liuiano y mudable, y no está bien acreditado de honesto y casto, y es ambicioso de honra, y persuádese de que ha de ser obispo, sobre lo qual le an hecho algunas burlas. A doze años ques canónigo; no es nada eclesiástico, ni hombre para encomendarle negocios." En Millares Carlo, *Cartas recibidas* . . . , págs. 34-35.

otra parte, habría que considerar que el mediar ya la muerte de Cortés y la autorizada obra de López de Gómara (1552) entre las dos en cuestión de Cervantes de Salazar, impulsaría la vuelta a la escueta realidad histórica. Pero tampoco es de desechar el hecho de que en el intervalo que va de las *Obras* a la *Crónica* se hubiese trasladado Cervantes de Salazar a Nueva España y el que la segunda de las mencionadas obras se haya escrito en un ambiente de inmediatez mundonovista. Con ello, dentro del cuadro limitado de una experiencia personal, el autor parece participar del efecto correctivo, revisor que la presencia efectiva de América tuvo en la visión precedente del hombre y del mundo.<sup>20</sup>

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### THE BLEMATATA OF LUIS TRIBALDOS DE TOLEDO

Nicolás Antonio, in his section on "Emblemata, Simbola, et alia hujus generis," lists among other works of the genre, a certain *Blemmata* by Luis Tribaldos de Toledo,<sup>1</sup> in manuscript (*Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, II [Madrid, 1788], p. 624). In the main entry, under the author's name,

<sup>20</sup> Gran parte del material utilizado en este trabajo ha sido acopiado, y el trabajo ha sido escrito, hallándose el autor preparando una edición de la *Mexicana* de Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega. Para llevar a cabo este último proyecto le fue otorgada una ayuda de costas por la American Council of Learned Societies durante el verano de 1959. El autor desea expresar por este medio su gratitud a la ACIS por la generosa y estimulante ayuda aportada.

<sup>1</sup> Luis Tribaldos de Toledo (1558-1634), professor of rhetoric at Alcalá, is best remembered today as the publisher and editor of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada* (Lisbon, 1627) and of the *Obras* of Francisco de Figueroa. For the Lisbon, 1625 edition, see the facs. ed. by Archer Huntington (New York, 1903). Tribaldos de Toledo acted also as a translator of Pomponio Mela, *La Geographia . . . que traduxo de latin en castellano el licenciado Luis Tribaldos de Toledo* (Madrid, 1642). As "Chronista mayor del Rey Nuestro Señor por las Indias", he wrote *Vista general de las continuadas guerras: difícil conquista del gran reino y provincias de Chile*, in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, IV (Santiago, 1864). In the *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1956), II, pp. 501-02, no. 894, we find the following: Gonzalo de Arredondo y Alvarado, *Chronica del bienaventurado, catholico y baleroso caballero el Conde Fernan Gonçalez*. Prohemio y censura de Luis Tribaldos de Toledo (1622). Lope mentions and celebrates Luis Tribaldos de Toledo in his *Laurel de Apolo* (*BAE*, XXXVIII, 217-18). His *Epaenesis Iberica* was dedicated to Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado. In document AR 743, f. 10 of the Plantin Archives, dated January 15, 1632, we find the following: "Lorenzo Ramirez del Prado del Consejo de Indias, a Madrid, debet: pour l'impression de 500 Epaenesis Iberica de Tribaldos de Toledo . . . item pour l'impression d'un Epistre dedicatoire."

we are given more detailed information (Ibid., p. 67): "*Blemmata* (sic volebat is pro Emblematis) CCL. cum commentariis: inedita, ut Miraeus refert." In a Latin poem by Tribaldos de Toledo, *Epaenesis Iberica* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1632) we also find a reference to the *Blemata* (p. 71): "Ne laudibus Hispaniae pauca haec substraheremus, ex nostro Blematum libro nondum edito hoc unum excerptimus & superioribus addendum curauimus, eidem rei consulto destinatum. Lector lege, & boni consule." Nicolás Antonio evidently based his information on Miraeus, who refers to Tribaldos de Toledo's work as follows: ". . . Emblemata id est Blemmata CCL, sic volebat scribi Tribaldus cum Commentariis."<sup>2</sup>

The *Blemata* manuscript does exist and we were fortunate to locate it in the Plantin Archives in Antwerp.<sup>3</sup> But the work can hardly be described as an emblem book. The entire manuscript, in Latin and not illustrated, is eight pages long. The section which pertains to the *Blemata* is entitled ΚΤΚΕΩΝ, that is, a mixture or scholarly medley, and offers a series of thirty-two short annotations on peculiar combinations or unusual and strange epithets, with one to two lines of commentary. The manuscript is apparently not complete, and at the end of the section we have the following: "Blemata 250. Luculentis Hypoblematis seu commentariis illustrata, omnia L. T. Toletto auctore." To illustrate the nature of the material contained in the ΚΤΚΕΩΝ, we will cite two sections, which are representative of the work:

No. 14: AERA HISPANICA. Quae fuerit et unde dicta Era, contra omnium Scriptorum veterum recentiorumque de ea sententiam.

No. 26: OLORES PURPUREI. Apto admodum epitheto dictos ab Horatio purpureos; refellitur Lambinus et alii.

From the examples that we have, it is clear that by *Blemata* the author did not understand "Emblemata," but rather a work which could be classified as a *Problemata*.

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<sup>2</sup> Aubertus Miraeus (Lemire), *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* . . . , pars altera, Antwerp, 1649, p. 225. This information from Miraeus is repeated by Jo. Albertus Fabricius, *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* (Hamburg, 1718), p. 301 and by Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1751), IV, col. 1237. Joh. Burchard Menken, *Compendiöses Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1715, col. 2295 and Leipzig, 1776, col. 1288) devotes an article to Tribaldos de Toledo, but does not mention the *Blemata*.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscript is briefly described by J. Denucé, *Museum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogue des Manuscrits* (Antwerp, 1927), p. 264.

## NECROLOGY

LEO SPITZER

(1887-1960)

Returning from the Eighth International Congress of Modern Languages and Literatures where he had read, to enormous applause, a paper on the history of style investigation and where he was called by different speakers "the master of all of us," Leo Spitzer succumbed to a heart attack at Forte dei Marmi in Italy. His loss means a particular blow to Romance scholarship, since Spitzer was a real genius, an unusually cultured man, an extraordinarily learned and widely read personality, a fascinating teacher and a truly imaginative investigator. Alas:

"Ei sparve . . . , Segno d'immensa invidia E di pietà profonda."

If there was any reflector of the changes in Romance Philology which occurred during the last fifty years, it was Leo Spitzer. Thoroughly trained as a student in Vienna, in those exact methods of his great teacher Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke which he later would brand as positivistic and "anti-idealistic" because of their exclusive matter-of-factness, he followed Meyer-Lübke's principles in his earlier studies as well<sup>1</sup> as in his lifelong activities in etymological conjectures.<sup>2</sup> Here, however, differing from his teacher he revealed an imagination which did not satisfy everybody but which was apparent already in his doctoral dissertation on word formation in Rabelais.<sup>3</sup> Spitzer always insisted that this study was his concrete foundation of Modern Stylistics, independent of Bally as well as of Vossler, and he certainly has the support of all chronological evidence. Another question is whether, without the Vosslerian influence, Spitzer's stylistics would have taken the development it actually did.

But before the Crocean aesthetic theories applied by Vossler started to attract Spitzer in the early twenties, when he had joined in a kind of scientific faithfulness his teacher Meyer-Lübke at the University of Bonn, although their philosophical and political ideas were miles apart, he under-

<sup>1</sup> Ernst Gamillscheg and Leo Spitzer, *Beiträge zur Romanischen Wortbildungslehre*, Florence: Olschki, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> *Katalanische Etymologien*, Hamburg: Meissner, 1918; "Aus der Werkstatt des Etymologen," *Jahrbuch für Philologie*, I (1925), 129-159, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Wortbildung als stilistisches Mittel exemplifiziert an Rabelais*, Halle: Niemeyer, 1910.

went other influences. The two men who impressed him while he was still in Austria were Hugo Schuchardt and Sigmund Freud. Schuchardt, whom he loved as the most open-minded philologist and whom he praised for never having written a full-sized book but many articles, aperçus, and statements which Spitzer collected and published,<sup>4</sup> aroused his interest in psychological onomatology. This came to the fore, when Spitzer was censor in a prisoners' camp during World War I. He was struck by the almost "poetic" inventiveness of the Italian soldiers, writing to their beloved ones but being forbidden to mention what was their most burning concern: Hunger. Their occasional circumlocutions were worked into a fundamental study<sup>5</sup> out of which sprang a characterization of the Italian conversational language,<sup>6</sup> an enterprise carried on for Spanish by Spitzer's pupil Werner Beinhauer.<sup>7</sup> Under Schuchardt's influence, Spitzer developed a general interest in the collective languages of speech communities, called by him *Sprachstile*, as opposed to the speeches of individuals, particularly poets, called by Spitzer *Stilsprachen*.<sup>8</sup>

The means of investigating *Stilsprachen* seemed to Spitzer, who in the early twenties was more psychologically than aesthetically interested, to have been provided by the then booming psychoanalytical method of Freud. Spitzer applied it first, following Freud very closely, to the erotic language as such,<sup>9</sup> then to erotic writers,<sup>10</sup> then to all kinds of writers, e.g. to modern French authors like Proust, Péguy, Jules Romains (all in *Stilstudien*<sup>8</sup>) and finally to a well chosen Spanish case: Quevedo, under the title: *Die Kunst Quevedos in seinem Buscón*.<sup>11</sup> It may be mentioned here that Spitzer, although always concerned with the whole of Romania, had a special love for Spanish subjects, and dedicated his original and sharp analyses also to the *Cid*, the *Razón de Amor*, San Juan de la Cruz, Cervantes, Lope, Calderón, Góngora, the Romances (particularly *Abenámar* and *Conde Arnaldos*), Guevara, Jorge Manrique, the Arcipreste de Hita, Luis de León, the sonnet *No me mueve, mi Dios*, and last but not least to Pedro Salinas.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Hugo Schuchardt-Brevier*, Halle: Niemeyer, 1922.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Umschreibungen des Begriffes "Hunger" im Italienischen*, Halle: Niemeyer, 1921.

<sup>6</sup> *Italienische Umgangssprache*, Bonn: Schroeder, 1922.

<sup>7</sup> *Spanische Umgangssprache*, Bonn: Dümmler, second ed. 1958.

<sup>8</sup> *Stilstudien*. Vol. I: *Sprachstile*; vol. II: *Stilsprachen*, München: Hueber, 1928.

<sup>9</sup> *Über einige Wörter der Liebessprache*, Leipzig: Reisland, 1918.

<sup>10</sup> *Studien zu Henri Barbusse*, Bonn: Cohen, 1920.

<sup>11</sup> First published in *Archivum Romanicum* (1927), later in Spitzer's collected essays: *Stil- und Literaturstudien*, II, Köln, 1931.

<sup>12</sup> Almost all of these are collected in the following volumes of Spitzer:

The influence of Karl Vossler during the twenties consisted mainly in transferring Spitzer's stylistic interest from the psychological to the aesthetic viewpoint. Since Spitzer's own merely intuitive flair for the aesthetically significant hit the mark in so many cases anyway, he sought in Vossler's works a method. He found instead a radical rejection of any systematic approach, lack of a real theory applicable to concrete cases of style analysis and an entire dependence on Croce's theory of *espressione*, no real linguistic (only a literary) experience. Therefore following Vossler's aesthetical principle only in general, and discussing his problems with Vossler's pupil, the syntactician Eugen Lerch, Spitzer became conscious of what he was going to do further in his own stylistic approach. He wanted to create a kind of art-minded philology, with a method analogous to what Schleiermacher had called the philological circle, the famous to-and-fro movement from a formal detail which refers to an ideological whole and enables the investigator to use the ideology to find new formal details reflecting likewise the over-all ideological attitude.

Coming to the American scene in 1936 after a three years' stay in Istanbul, the professor from Germany had to realize that what was taken for granted in a post-idealistic and romantic Marburg or Cologne, where he had taught earlier, was not so readily acceptable in the United States. Had Spitzer realized that his stylistic Gestalt-psychology was intrinsically bound to remain subjective to a certain extent, he would have avoided the unfriendly criticism of his allegedly objective method on the part of Charles Bruneau, Hytier and Riffaterre; had he not pleaded for a Christian-humanistic attitude as a *sine qua non* for a style investigator, he would not have been told by Robert Hall that he sinned against unwritten American conventions; had he been more tolerant of linguistic structuralism, he might have avoided seeing his own most valuable approaches decried as secondary responses or even "poetry" in the journal *Language*; had he been more lenient as a scholarly critic, he would not have aroused revolts around the persons torn to pieces in his reviews. But in all these cases what speaks in Spitzer's favor, is his sincere and unbribable personality which never could separate the scholar, the critic and the whole man, an attitude which severed him so strongly from E. R. Curtius' dichotomy of criticism and philology.

What struck Spitzer in United States was the strong formal interest of the New Critics and the New Aristotelians, and it is no mere chance that he started speaking at meetings of English scholars and began—competing

*Linguistics and Literary History*, Princeton, 1948; *A Method of interpreting Literature*, Smith College, 1949; *Lingüística e historia literaria*, Madrid: Gredos, 1955; *Romanische Literaturstudien: 1936-1956*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1960.



with those critics—to analyze English poems. At the same time, in his fifth and last period, he gave up entirely what he called “*Erlebnis-Stilistik*” and was satisfied rather with a closer description and a stricter hermeneutics. At the same time he sporadically returned to historical linguistics, at least along critical lines, and gave a good account of himself, e.g. when proposing emendations or supplementations to Corominas’ or M. L. Wagner’s dictionaries, or appraising the work of linguists like Fritz Krüger.

Those who knew Spitzer only through his scholarly work might have found him too aloof from the madding crowd of average scholars whom he teased and scared with a—to them—apparently unbearable superiority, not mincing words, being one hundred percent sure of himself, and—a curious particularity of Spitzer’s—practically using the work of his critical victims only to bury them under the ruins on which he used to erect his own new and more splendid edifice. Those, however, who knew Spitzer personally were overwhelmed by his interior true modesty, his detachment from outside recognition, his helpfulness, his youthful spirit, always eager to learn up to the latest days of his life. And they enjoyed his Rabelaisian attitude and invincible sarcasm, his delight in academic gossip. “What do you think of Professor X, Mr. Spitzer?” “He is the most stupid of all.” You did not mind this, even assuming he said the same thing on another occasion to somebody else—about yourself. Many colleagues will think in gratitude of his enormous achievements, his unusually productive work which will make great demands on the compilers of the complete bibliography due by now, of the enrichment to be found in any of his subtle articles, so that the words of Jorge Manrique whom he admired so much, certainly will apply to him:

que aunque la vida perdió,  
nos dejó harto consuelo  
su memoria.

HELMUT HATZFELD

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## REVIEWS

*Studi su trove e trovatori della prima lirica ispano-portoghese.* By Silvio Pellegrini. Seconda edizione riveduta e aumentata. Biblioteca di Filologia Romanza, III. Adriatica Editrice, Bari, 1959: 211 pages.

This work consists of twelve articles, all of which were first published separately in various journals. One has been enlarged by the addition of an up-to-date supplement. Of the twelve articles, eight constituted the first edition of 1937, which apparently was never reviewed. For the present edition Professor Pellegrini provides a prefatory bibliography of studies cited by him, supplemented at the end of the book by a detailed index of names and works mentioned.

The first and longest of the twelve articles, if we count its recently composed *postilla*, is on the subject of the *cantigas de amigo*. Its main portion, reproduced intact, was first published in 1930. Mr. Pellegrini cites the originally prevailing opinion that the troubadours who composed *cantigas de amigo* in Galician and Portuguese based their courtly compositions on the native popular poetry. Reminding us that poetry of whatever kind is written by individuals, he strives to minimize Galician-Portuguese traditional elements and to stress individual genius. Moreover, he arrays himself against many of the opinions held by Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal concerning the primitive Spanish lyric. For example, he rejects as unproven the latter's belief that "entre las cantigas de amigo gallego-portuguesas y los villancicos de amigo castellanos hay una evidente relación, explicable por una común tradición popular." (Cf. p. 39 for reference.) In the "Postilla" or supplement to this article Professor Pellegrini brings his treatment of the whole subject up to date, with special reference to the Arabic *jaryas* (Ital. *kargie*); but his conclusions reveal an adamant determination to stand firm on the opinions he advanced thirty years ago.

The second article, first published in 1957, deals with the interpretation to be given to the "Cantiga da guarvaya," 38th poem of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*. Here Mr. Pellegrini's apparently innate conservatism and excellent linguistic scholarship unite to administer a salutary corrective to certain far-fetched interpretations by other commentators. But in the end, apparently entangled in the meshes of his own erudition, he appears to question the validity of his own proposals, terming the poem "enigmatic." To the present reviewer, with Professor Henry H. Carter's excellent diplomatic edition open before him, "intelligible though trivial" would appear to be a more apt characterization.

In the third article or chapter, first published in 1954, Pellegrini studies the surname of the well-known troubadour, Martín Codax or Codax. Rejecting such previous interpretations as that of Pedro Vindel in his edition (Madrid, 1914) of the poems of Codax (*Martín Codax-Martín Códice* or *Libro de Martín*); and that of Senhora Michaëlis de Vasconcellos (*RFE*, IV [1915], 272) to the effect that *Codax* is a depreciative nickname derived from *codo* (i.e., "Big-elbows"); as well as various other, equally ingenious conjectures, Professor Pellegrini proposes tentatively that *Codax* be deemed a patronymic, with *-ax* (variant, *-as*) representing Hispanic *-as* as equated with *-es*, *-is*, *-os*. But documentation is lacking, as Mr. Pellegrini freely admits. The present reviewer prefers his own theory: that the poet came from northern France, that his name was Martin (li) Cos (a common Old French word and a well-known modern surname, with final *-s* already silent in the thirteenth century), and that his native town was one of the numerous cities named *Aix*, written and pronounced *Ais* in Old French. According to E. B. Williams (*From Latin to Portuguese*, Philadelphia, 1938, p. 20), the graph *x* was often used for *is* (*rex* for *reis*, etc.). Ergo, *Martim* or *Martin Codax* < *Martin (li) Cos d'Ax* (= *d'Ais*). *Cos* is of course the n. sg. of Old French *coc* (modern *coq*, "rooster").

The fourth article (first published in 1935) combats the attribution by Dona Carolina Michaëlis of the *cantiga de amigo*, "Ai eu coitada" (*Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti*, 456), to Sancho I of Portugal. Mr. Pellegrini adduces good reasons for assigning it to Alfonso el Sabio. In Article No. 5 (1953) the author identifies one "meestre Johan," who is the object of ridicule in two poems (*Colocci-Brancuti*, 489, 490; *Vaticana*, 72, 73), as Joan Airas, Archbishop of Compostella. Passing over the very brief "Noterelle Alfonsine" (No. 6) one finds in No. 7 (1945) an interesting and—though undocumented—seemingly accurate character portrayal of Alfonso el Sabio of Castile. In No. 8, which first appeared in 1936, Professor Pellegrini questions the existence of the second of two alleged Portuguese poems on the *mal mariée* theme, to which the late H. R. Lang had made undocumented reference in the Introduction of his *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis* (Halle, 1894, pp. lxx-lxxvi). With a formidable display of erudition, Mr. Pellegrini combats previous conjectures that the alleged second poem was by Juan Airas.

No. 9 (originally of 1934) bears on the theme of the maiden who weeps and sings, as presented in two Old Portuguese *pastorelas* (*Vaticana*, 454; *Colocci-Brancuti*, 868, 869, 870). Pellegrini seeks this motif in other literatures, but finds it only in Old Provençal, viz., in *pastorelas* by Cadenet and Guy d'Ussel respectively. He points out that at the hands of the latter it is presented with incongruity: the maiden sings in order to forget her grief. No. 10 (1935) relates to emendations proposed for a

metrically defective *canção* by King Denis (cf. Lang, op. cit., p. 87, v. 2195). It is a question of the legitimacy of correcting *cajon* (Sp. *ocasión*) into *ocajon* or of emending otherwise. Pellegrini demonstrates: (1) that *cajon* was frequently masculine in Old Portuguese; and (2) that alleged early cases of *ocajon* are probably *o cajon*. He then proceeds to survey the mediaeval meanings of Latin *ocasio* and its derivatives, especially as it was used in courts of law; and he concludes that *cajon* in the verse in question, besides being masculine and hence used with the masculine definite article, may well connote a judicial penalty.

No. 11 (1927), entitled "Don Denis," is a summary of Denis's career as sovereign, poet, and patron of letters. In the course of his remarks, Professor Pellegrini rightly levels a few more shafts at Dona Carolina Michaëlis (requiescat in pace!), ending with a searching and sensitive appraisal of the famous monarch's poetic art. The last of Pellegrini's articles (first published in 1928) treats of the five *lais* reproduced at the beginning of the Colocci-Branenti *Cancioneiro*, as well as elsewhere. Here our author's concern is to study a version of these *lais* afforded by Vatican MS Lat. 7182. To this end he presents a diplomatic transcription of them, followed by a collation with the Colocci-Branenti version. From this collation he deduces the existence in sixteenth-century Italy of a collection of Galician-Portuguese lyrics distinct from those of the Vaticana and Colocci-Branenti *cancioneiros*.

The present reviewer stands overwhelmed and abashed in the presence of the vast amount of microscopic study and research lavished by the author upon these twelve topics. But at the same time he wonders why Mr. Pellegrini deemed it desirable to publish these journal articles in book form—not only once, but twice for most of them—when admittedly they are principally concerned with minutiae of interest only to a limited number of Hispanists.

EDWIN B. PLACE

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*Little Sermons on Sin. The Archpriest of Talavera.* By Alfonso Martínez de Toledo. Translated by Lesley Byrd Simpson. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1959: viii + 200 pages.

Let those prepared to take Dr. Simpson to task for his title recall that Martínez de Toledo himself did not give his book the titles we like to use today. "Syn bautismo, sea por nonbre llamado *Arcipreste de Talavera* dondequier que fuere levado," wrote he, and the titles *Corbacho* and *Reprobación del amor mundano* were not his, but were added when the book was printed. Dr. Simpson has quite as much right to use *Little Sermons on Sin* as did those who appended titles not the author's.

Perhaps no one has lived with the *Arcepreste de Talavera* more intimately than Lesley Simpson. His edition (1939) has stood, and still stands as a valuable paleographical contribution. His English rendition has caught the spirit of the original. His piquant, racy book is as wordy and noisy as the Spanish which in the translator's words is ". . . very likely the noisiest book ever written" (Introduction, p. 1). Simpson views the Archpriest of Talavera as a most energetic and earnest priest, a moralist interested in correcting social evils—especially those concerned with sex—but, at the same time a man quite prone to relish, as much as those who read his book, the stories of feminine wiles and masculine frailties. This view is shared, by the way, by Martín de Riquer, who also edited the manuscript (1949) and who points out that the Archpriest followed, just as did Jaume Roig in his *Espejo*, the fifteenth-century pattern of moralizing in a way calculated to catch men's interest even while driving home the most serious morals and maxims. One might add that priests who so wrote and preached were the target of attack by the councils of the Church (e.g. Sens, 1386, Milan, 1565, Bordeaux, 1624) whose redactors regarded the pulpit as no place for scurrilous or unseemly tales. Certain of the stories in Martínez de Toledo's book remind one of tales in the *Disciplina clericalis*, a book hardly intended by its author as a repository of sermon topics. Some have the same themes, and even the same points, as tales found in the *Decameron*. Such stories might, as the councils suspected, actually put ideas for wicked deceits into people's heads instead of correcting vices and indicating the paths leading to the good life.

Two samples of Dr. Simpson's translating should suffice to show his capabilities in this art. "It is a general rule that woman is proud. Just watch a woman when she is angry, for she will say things with that infernal mouth of hers that should not be heard or listened to (Part II, ch. viii, p. 138)." This is as close as one can get to literal translation of the original without being stilted: "La muger ser sobervia comun rregla es dello; pero para mientes a la muger quando la vieres yrada, cosas se dexa dezir por aquella boca ynferral, que non son de oyr nin escuechar."

Part I, ch. xiii, offers a selection not quite translatable, and yet Dr. Simpson succeeds in transferring from the Spanish an idea in our own idiom that expresses colorfully and extremely adequately the meaning of the original. "Consider, therefore, my friend, whether it is unreasonable to look askance at love which promises gifts, and then afterward you have to play the tune and pay the piper into the bargain (page 42)." The Spanish reads, "Vee, amigo, pues, sy es rrazon de veer tal amor, qué dones promete, e después tú sé la pieça e el cuchillo."

Dr. Simpson translates the first three parts of the Archpriest's book, omitting the fourth part. "Just why," writes Simpson, "he felt impelled

to add a long and insufferably dull treatise on astrology is a mystery. It is not a part of his original plan and it introduces a logic-chopping Schoolman's style utterly at variance with his usual free-swinging colloquialism. So I am sparing the reader (and myself) that part of the book." Some will object to this on the grounds that these matters interest certain people and that they reveal a good deal about the beliefs of those times.

Simpson felt that the chapter "On Matrimony" placed by the Archpriest in the treatment of the phlegmatic man, should, for the sake of continuity, be placed in a separate chapter, and he has so placed it. He has reversed, "to tidy things up and preserve continuity," the order of appearance of the phlegmatic man and the melancholy man at the end of Part III.

*Little Sermons on Sin* places at the disposal of the public a witty and delightful translation of one of the fifteenth century's most revealing works. It provides scholars with an opportunity of seeing the work of the Archpriest of Talavera through eyes other than their own and may reveal unsuspected aspects and concepts. Certainly few people are as capable as Lesley B. Simpson of turning the Archpriest's Spanish into readable and racy English.

JOHN ESTEN KELLER

*University of North Carolina*

*El libro de los cien capítulos*. Edited by Agapito Rey. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 1960: xxii + 92 pages.

*El libro de los cien capítulos* belongs to that important body of thirteenth-century erudition which, didactic in nature, attempted to lay down clear and cogent rules of life and thought. Even when reading no more than the titles of its chapters one sees immediately that the book is a series of lessons or messages. Among the subjects treated we might mention the responsibilities of the common people to royalty and nobility and the obligations of the latter to the former; the concept of justice, the condemnation of war; education, rhetoric, penmanship; patience; suffering, charity, obedience, customs, etc. It is, then, a book of rules and goals for a *modus vivendi*, and to judge by the many books of its kind (*Bocados de oro* and *Flores de filosofía*, for example) which were written in the Middle Ages, the genre was extremely popular and important. Such books, of course, contributed much to medieval law and philosophy and were often inserted into larger literary works.

In spite of the title, the book contains actually no more than fifty chapters (this is true in all four of the extant manuscripts), although in two manuscripts the titles are given for an additional fifty. Professor

Rey lists these titles (pp. viii-ix of his Introduction) and states that if chapters had been written to match them these chapters would duplicate in great part the material already included in the existing chapters.

According to Professor Rey, *Cien capítulos* is an amplification of *Flores de filosofía*, or perhaps the latter is a condensation of *Cien capítulos*. He places the book in the late Alfonsine period or even in that of Sancho IV, and he suggests a time around 1300. It does not, however, as H. Knust and Amador de los Ríos had believed, belong to the epoch of St. Ferdinand.

Tables appear on pages xi-xiii showing the correspondence between *Flores*, *Cien capítulos* and *Caballero Zifar* (which contains *Flores* almost intact). Pages xiv-xvi offer an interesting comparison between passages in *Flores* and *Cien capítulos*, proving Professor Rey's statement that *Flores* omitted many fine similes and sayings found in the longer work.

All four of the existing manuscripts were used for this edition (Biblioteca Nacional, nos. 6618, 8405, 9216, as well as no. 128 from Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo), but Professor Rey bases his text upon MS 9612 which he considers the oldest and most complete. He uses the other manuscripts to fill in *lacunae* found in 9216 and to show variants (which appear carefully listed on pages 71-82). "No indico modernizaciones ortográficas," writes Rey in his Introduction, "ni otras menudencias de escaso valor." He resolves abbreviations, prints *r* (*rey*) rather than the manuscripts' *rr* (*rrey*), but does not resolve *u* and *v*, printing *deue* rather than *deve*, but he is not alone in this transcription and is after all following the orthography of the manuscripts. His transcription is, as usual with him, careful and scientific, as a comparison of his text with the photographic reproduction of MS 9216 will show.

The brief Glossary (pp. 84-92) contains only archaic words or those whose medieval meaning differs from the modern. Each entry gives the chapter and line of his text in which the word appears.

*El libro de los cien capítulos* is attractively printed and makes a handsome contribution to medieval scholarship. It can be useful and informative to those interested in many of the aspects of medieval life, culture and literature.

JOHN ESTEN KELLER

University of North Carolina

*Amadís de Gaula*. Edición y anotación por Edwin B. Place. Tomo I. C. S. I. C., Madrid, 1959: li + 354 páginas.

De este famoso libro de caballerías hay ya mención en el siglo catorce. En unos versos dirigidos al canciller Pero López de Ayala dice el poeta Pero Ferruz (*Cancionero de Baena* [Madrid, 1851], número 304) que

existían tres libros del *Amadís de Gaula*. Del contenido de esos tres libros, la lengua en que estaban escritos, su autor y fecha nada sabemos. El único texto conocido—si exceptuamos un fragmento manuscrito recién descubierto que no nos ayuda a reconstruir el *Amadís* primitivo—es el de García Rodríguez de Montalvo, regidor de Medina del Campo, que dice corrigió “estos tres libros de Amadís, que por falta de los malos escritores, o componedores, muy corruptos y viciosos se leyan.” Dice luego que añade el cuarto libro, que fué hallado en una tumba en Constantinopla y traído a España por un mercader húngaro, y trasladado por los que entendían de papel y letra antiguos. También el autor de *Tirante el Blanco* pretende que su obra es traducida del inglés; Cervantes prefiere atribuir su *Quijote* al arábigo Cide Hamete Benengeli, siguiendo en todo la parodia de los libros de caballerías. Se cree que hubo también un texto antiguo en portugués, pero si en realidad existió no quedan rastros de él. Lo que hoy conocemos es el texto de Montalvo, cuya primera edición conocida es la de Zaragoza, 1508; no se conservan ejemplares de ediciones anteriores, si las hubo.

Aunque no faltan ediciones modernas del *Amadís*, la edición príncipe no había sido aprovechada. Parece que se hizo rara pronto, pues no la mencionan los bibliógrafos, y de ese texto publicado en Zaragoza en 1508 por George Coci Aleman sólo se conoce un ejemplar, conservado en el Museo Británico, que es el que ahora saca a luz el profesor Place. La edición de Gayangos en el tomo 40 de la *BAE* reproduce el texto de la de Venecia, 1533, corregida por Francisco Delicado; la incluida en *Libros de Caballerías Españoles* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1954) nos da el texto impreso en Lovaina por Servacio Sasseno, 1551. En estas dos ediciones aparece como autor Garcé Ordóñez de Montalvo, mientras que en la de 1508 se le llama Carcí Rodríguez de Montalvo. Esa confusión pudiera obedecer a que el nombre en los manuscritos estaría abreviado y fue interpretado ambos Ordóñez y Rodríguez.

En la Nota Preliminar, pág. vii, expresa Place su agradecimiento a varias personas que le favorecieron, “y a otro señor, quien no permite que le mencionemos de nombre, le debemos tanto que es imposible expresar adecuadamente nuestra gratitud.” El tomo I que ahora sale a luz contiene sólo el Libro I, que es el más extenso de los cuatro que componen la obra. Suponemos que lo que falta se repartirá en otros dos tomos; nada se dice en los preliminares. El texto va precedido de una excelente “Bibliografía descriptiva de las ediciones, traducciones y arreglos del *Amadís*.” El texto parece haber sido preparado con sumo cuidado, y el editor nos da unas 130 erratas del texto Zaragozano corregidas en la presente edición. Para facilitar el cotejo Place numera las líneas del texto en cada capítulo. La popularidad del *Amadís* debió de ser enorme a juzgar por las numerosas ediciones del siglo XVI, y de las traducciones



y arreglos extranjeros que Place cita. La traducción francesa de Nicolás d'Herberay, que empezó a publicarse en París en 1541, alcanzó gran popularidad.

El texto aparece mondo de variantes o notas; deben de reservarse para el último tomo, pues en el título Place nos promete una edición con "anotación." Falta un estudio crítico de la obra, pues las dos páginas de la "nota literaria e histórica" de la introducción no pretenden sino resumir someramente unos artículos recientemente publicados por Place sobre el *Amadís*. Tampoco trae bibliografía, fuera de la descripción de las ediciones de que ya hablamos. Claro que un extenso estudio de la novela de caballerías abultaría demasiado una obra ya de por sí ampulosa. El primordial propósito de los editores<sup>1</sup> fue presentarnos fielmente reproducido el texto de la primera edición del *Amadís* que yacía olvidado en el ejemplar único del Museo Británico. La impresión es esmerada, con amplios márgenes y renglones espaciados de agradable y fácil lectura. Ojalá salga pronto el resto de la obra,<sup>2</sup> y los estudios que de tan competentes editores son de esperar.

AGAPITO REY

*Indiana University*

*Antonio Machado. With Translations of Selected Poems.* By Alice Jane McVan. Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1959: v + 249 pages.

Hay que agradecer a la *Hispanic Society* este primer serio intento de presentar la obra poética de A. Machado a los lectores de habla inglesa. Son más de setenta los poemas traducidos, casi todos ellos por Alice Jane McVan, que es también la autora de una extensa Introducción (págs. 1-91).

Consiste ésta, sobre todo, en una serie de datos biográficos. No es un estudio sobre la poesía de Machado, aunque se hacen alusiones a ella, de vez en cuando, que revelan comprensión y sensibilidad. De *La tierra de Alvargonzález* se ocupa la autora más extensamente que de otros poemas, mas es para referirse al problema, ya tratado por otros, de la relación entre las versiones en prosa y en verso. Se menciona a la generación del "98," y se nombran algunos poetas, simbolistas y otros, que pudieron influir en él, en sus comienzos. Pero todo ello es claramente insuficiente para el lector que no esté previamente informado. No se intenta exponer, valorar o situar, ayudar a sentir la poesía de Machado; cosa que, acompañando a las traducciones, hubiera sido muy útil.

<sup>1</sup> Place y el "otro señor."

<sup>2</sup> Habrá que esperar a que salga el resto del texto para compararlo con el de las otras ediciones antiguas.

La Introducción es mejor, considerada como resumen biográfico. Hay datos bastante nuevos, recogidos de publicaciones recientes, dispersas (lástima que no hayan podido incluirse los que contienen las "Cartas de Antonio Machado a Juan Ramón Jiménez," publicadas recientemente por R. Gullón), y otros más nuevos aún, aunque menudos, recogidos de viva voz. Pero la mayor parte de la información era ya muy conocida. No se ha intentado, en verdad, ahondar mucho, interpretar; pero los datos son por sí mismos bastante reveladores, para el conocedor de Machado. Muchos detalles mínimos, enternecedores, interesantes para el lector de habla española o el hispanista, resultarán sin embargo anodinos, confusos y oscurecedores para todos los demás.

De los datos más o menos nuevos, hay algunos que deberían ser rectificadas levemente, especialmente los que se refieren a la estancia de Machado en Rocafort, en 1937. No era necesario que preparara a una torre para divisar el mar: lo veía cómodamente desde una terraza. El menciona tal cosa en el soneto a Guimar, escrito en Rocafort. Yo mismo paseé con él por ese "parterre"—como él dice—cuando iba a recoger, desde Valencia, los artículos que mensualmente él daba para *Hora de España*. Y eso de que, según un comunicante, su clase de francés en Baeza era bella cual "aurora borealis," me parece a mí fantasía, ya que el alumno en cuestión, si vio entonces a Machado, debía tener, según mis cálculos, tres a cuatro años, a lo más.

Por otra parte, lo que se dice de la influencia de Bergson y Heidegger en Machado es, además de vago, incorrecto y confuso. Machado no tenía un "culto" por la Nada; y si leía filosofía en Segovia, no podía tener "his interest still held by Heidegger" (pág. 55), ya que, con toda probabilidad, no tenía ni noticia de él hacia esa fecha.

En cuanto a las traducciones mismas, a mí la selección me parece buena, pues comprende de los primeros poemas de *Soledades* a algunos de los escritos durante la guerra civil. Se incluyen casi todos los más conocidos, los mejores. Machado queda sin duda bien representado. Las traducciones (algunas de miembros diversos de la *Hispanic Society*) son, creo yo, casi siempre bastante fieles al original, y ya esto no es poco. En cuanto al valor que tengan como poesía, con cuánta habilidad se conserven o reproduzcan los valores poéticos, el *alma* de esas poesías; en suma, cuán buenas sean las traducciones, es cosa que habrán de decir los que puedan juzgar poesía inglesa mejor que yo. En todo caso los admiradores de Machado debemos congratularnos de que existan, y reconocer el esfuerzo generoso de esos otros admiradores que han hecho posible este volumen.

A. SÁNCHEZ BARBUDO

University of Wisconsin

*The Evolution of the Conditional Sentence Contrary to Fact in Old Spanish.* By Henry Mendeloff. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C., 1960: vii + 106 pages.

This dissertation attempts to trace the evolution of an unstable syntactical construction whose history has been complicated by temporal, logical, and affective factors, since the conditional sentence contrary to fact bridges the fields of syntax and stylistics.

Heretofore, the fullest treatment of the problem was Gessner's "Die hypothetische Periode im Spanischen in ihrer Entwicklung," *ZRPh*, XIV (1890), 24-65, a study which, valuable in its time, attempted to cover too much (Old and Modern Spanish) in too little space. Its conclusions, based on impressions, were derived from insufficient data.

Mendeloff's study is based on an analysis of twenty-six representative texts from the twelfth through the fifteenth century and attempts to answer by statistical methods several questions: the nature of the evolution of the construction; the syntactical formulae which were the norm for the various centuries; the vulgar and literary Latin formulae which survived in Old Spanish; the Old Spanish formulae which survived in sixteenth-century Spanish; the Modern Spanish formulae already in evidence in Old Spanish; and the extent to which Romance scholars have analyzed and interpreted the contrary-to-fact construction correctly.

Mendeloff has sought to safeguard his results by sharply delimiting the scope of his investigation. He considers only complete contrary-to-fact constructions. He employs the temporal-logical system of classification, basically the one used by Gessner, and does not take into account the affective factor, which would have called for a separate study in the field of stylistics, involving a different methodology.

Among the author's conclusions the following are most important: (1) for the pre-Renaissance period, the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries must be considered individually, rather than as one entity labelled "Old Spanish" (Hanssen, Bourciez); (2) there is a great fluctuation of competing syntactical patterns for the contrary-to-fact condition both in the present and in the past; (3) of the normative literary constructions of Modern Spanish, all but one (*si hubiera tenido, habría dado*) are found in Old Spanish; (4) Hanssen and Bourciez made a number of errors in treating of this construction, e.g., by ignoring the temporal bivalency of *si tuviese daría* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; (5) the evolution of the conditional sentence contrary to fact in Old Spanish is an orderly process of selection and refinement rather than a sporadic series of arbitrary choices, rejections, and regressions.

Mendeloff threads his way skillfully through the erratic history of his subject. He draws upon several Romance languages to give perspective to his study. He is sensitive to the choice of manuscripts (e.g., he con-

siders both the Paris and the Madrid manuscripts of the *Libro de Alexandre*). An Appendix of Syntactical Tables, occupying about half of the monograph, enables the reader to check all data. Mendeloff has made a useful contribution to a much neglected field, the syntax of the preclassical period of the Spanish language.

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Afonso X, o Sábio. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Vol. I. Edited by Walter Mettmann. Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, Coimbra, 1959: xxiv + 286 pages.

One of the great works of the Middle Ages is the body of songs (actually stories set to music) known as *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria*. It is quite likely that some of these poems were composed by King Alfonso X himself, while others were written at his behest. Scholars know that this vast collection of miracles of the Blessed Virgin (there are 427 miracles and songs of praise) is invaluable for research carried out in many disciplines—music, art, studies in daily life, literature, language (medieval Galician-Portuguese and to some extent Castilian), folklore, history, the history of religion, and sociology, to name only the most important. The work's vastness has prevented, perhaps more than anything else, attempts to produce a definitive edition.

In 1889 the Royal Spanish Academy published in one large volume the songs contained in one codex (MS E), edited by Leopoldo de Cueto, Marquis of Valmar, with a second volume of Notes. This edition has served for long years as the most complete text available. The excerpts of 22 *cantigas* edited by Augusto Magne ("Cantigas de Santa Maria de Afonso X, o Sábio," *Revista de Lingua Portuguesa*, VIII [1926]) contributed to the over-all corpus of edited *cantigas*, as did the 34 selections published by Rodrigues Lapa ("Afonso X, o Sábio. Cantigas de Santa Maria," in *Textos de Literatura Portuguesa*, Lisbon [1933]). The complete text of the entire body of songs in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, in spite of the edition of Valmar and the selections noted, has not to date been printed, but now it appears that such an edition will soon be completed. Indeed, the first volume is the subject of this review.

Volume I of Walter Mettmann's edition, covering the first one hundred of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, is worthy of careful note. He will eventually present the entire body of the *Cantigas*, not omitting, as did Valmar, those songs found in the Florentine codex (MS II, I, 213) which contains not only variants of the other manuscripts, but even two *cantigas* not found in any of the other manuscripts, although now available in the edition of A. G. Solalinde (*RFE*, V [1918], 142-179).

Volume I offers, in addition to the first one hundred *cantigas*, a long

Introduction and Index of the entire 427 *cantigas*, and a complete *apparatus criticus*; Volume II will contain *cantigas* 101-300; Volume III *cantigas* 301-427, together with toponymic and anthroponymic indices and notes on the metrics of the text; still a fourth volume is in preparation made up of literary and philological investigations. The plan is ambitious, the scope of the work vast, the need to be filled truly great.

The edition of Valmar omitted certain important lines, failed to take into consideration syllabic deficiencies and defective separation of verses, and used a method of transcription now generally considered archaic. It is not feasible to list in detail all the matters set down by Mettmann (there are six full pages of such explanations), but a few of the more important and helpful aspects should be mentioned.

Mettmann, basing his text upon MS *E*, the largest of all with its 427 *cantigas*, includes all the variants in MS *T* (195 *cantigas*), in *F* (104) and in *To*. (128). Variants are conveniently set down at the foot of each page. The paleographic treatment is careful and—what is equally important—up-to-date. Mettmann resolves the abbreviation *z* as *e* (correctly) and not as *et* (found in Valmar's edition); the palatal *n*, represented in the manuscript as *ñ*, he transcribes as *n* (*sāta santa*, for example); he wisely transcribes *i* and *u* (when used as consonants) as *j* and *v*, thus rendering the transcription much more readable and banishing such monstrosities as *vn* for *un*, *uiu* for *viu*, *foj* for *foi* and *amej* for *amei*; he uses a modern syllabification when he finds words incongruously separated in the manuscript; he introduces punctuation and uses accent marks only when absolutely necessary.

The Index consists of the full transcription in Galician-Portuguese of the brief outline or summary found with each *cantiga*, which enables the reader immediately to locate a given *cantiga* and to learn its content.

The *Quadro sinóptico do conteúdo dos códices* is a complete guide to the chronological arrangement of the *cantigas* in all four codices.

It is a pity that Walter Mettmann's edition will not contain photographic reproductions of the miniatures of the *Cantigas* so as to provide a complete picture of the great Alfonsine work. Fortunately we have already in print (in black and white photography) the miniatures found in MS *T* (J. Guerrero Lovillo, *Las Cántigas de Santa María. Estudio arqueológico* [Madrid, 1949]), which transcribes the superscriptions accompanying the panels of these miniatures.

If the second and third volumes of Mettmann's edition of the *Cantigas de Santa María* are as complete and carefully prepared as the first (as they surely will be), his edition will occupy an important place in many disciplines of medieval research.

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*A Portuguese-English Dictionary.* By James L. Taylor. Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1959: xx + 655 pages.

This dictionary is the first serious work of the kind since the Michaelis (1887). The book is well made and reasonably well printed. All entries are in one alphabetical listing, except that (as in all-Portuguese dictionaries) only hyphenated compound words whose first element is not a noun (*porta-aviões*) appear as entry words, compounds beginning with a noun being grouped as subentries under that noun (*banho-maria* s.v. *banho*). This is a one-part dictionary (Portuguese-English), written for the speakers of the target language. The usage is practically restricted to Brazil and the United States, the usages of Portugal and Britain receiving but the slightest mention. Sometimes Portugal even loses its identification with the name of the language, as under the entry **K**: "This letter is no longer a part of the official Brazilian alphabet." It is, in fact, a "Brazilian-American Dictionary," and must be reviewed as such.

On p. xiii there is a very incomplete chart on vowel metaphony, the key to which is buried on the preceding page. Metaphony is generally ignored in the entry words, or is indicated in a misleading manner: "**porco** [pô] -**ca** [pó]," because nothing is said about the value of *o* in the masculine and feminine plurals.

Explanatory Note 6 (Introd.) states that a clue is provided "to correct pronunciation, especially of the tonic vowel." The clues are few. The only consistency is in the indication of hiatuses, as in "**saudar** [a-u]." The method of showing pronunciation is not phonetic, but consists chiefly in showing vowel quality orthographically within square brackets, thus: "**cobrelo** [ê]." Even so, the quality of very few *e*'s and *o*'s is shown. Sometimes an imitative Portuguese spelling is used, e.g., "**cóccix** [coesis]," and "**smoking** [simôquim]." There is no consistency in indicating the pronunciation of borrowed words: **éclair** (a subentry of **fecho**) and **footing** have nothing to indicate that they are not pronounced as spelled. The treatment of *x* is inconsistent; though the Introduction states that there are no set rules for its pronunciation, it is indicated only when *x* equals *ks*, and in a few other instances. This whole system of "clues" (and the orthographic method of presenting them) was borrowed from all-Portuguese dictionaries. The Introduction also states the intention of showing all irregular plurals. Following Brazilian lexicographical usage, very few are shown, and then mostly regular ones (**papel** [-péis]; **fóssil** [-seis]). The plurals of most words ending in *-ão* are not shown, nor is there any indication of really irregular plurals (**cal**, **mel**, **cônsul**, **real**, etc.).

The author uses a short, hyphen-like dash for all subentries. These dashes are confusing and misleading. For example, under **armazém** we

find “—s gerais”; but the plural of *armazém* is *armazéns*, not *armazéms*. Doubling of entries causes a waste of space which could be used for more entries. Many phrases are listed under every word they contain: e.g., *valer a pena* is treated under *valer*, *pena*, and *não*. The labeling could be more precise, usage labels being included within the same parentheses with part-of-speech labels. Often we come upon entries like “nasal (*adj.*; *m.*, *f.*, *Phonet.*, *Anat.*, *Zool.*) nasal (sound, bone).” With which label, with which noun is this word masculine, with which feminine? There are many intransitive glosses or definitions for verbs labeled transitive and vice versa, e.g., “*bolar* (*v.t.*, *colloq.*) . . . to rack one’s brains. . . .” The correct gloss is “to rack one’s brains over.”

An important rule of Portuguese orthography as practiced in Brazil is only sporadically hinted at, as in the entry “*pastor* [-tôres].” What is this supposed to mean? An irregular plural, or vowel quality, or what? The unmentioned rule is the one governing the use of the circumflex accent to distinguish a given form from a similar form with an open tonic vowel (in this case *pastores*, 2nd sg. pres. subj. of *pastorar*).

There are many typographical errors, most of them missing or misplaced accent marks, almost always in the subentries, which show less careful proofreading than the entry words. On p. xiv the name of the President of Brazil is misspelled. Other errors abound. Under *senhoria* is “*Vossa* —, Your Lordship,” with no indication that *Vossa Senhoria* means ‘you’ in commercial correspondence. Neither *senhorinha* nor *senhorita* is glossed ‘Miss’. For *vós*, we read: “you; ye. [This is the formal form of you . . .].” The formal form of ‘you’ is *o(s) senhor(es)* or *a(s) senhora(s)*. *Vós* is used to address the Deity and in formal orations. *Hão* and *hei* are called archaic and literary forms of *haver*; it is the verb *haver* that is archaic and literary. Under *hã* there is *hã-de*, to be obliged or necessary”; *hã-de* is a finite form and it cannot be translated by the infinitive. *Avô* (*m.*) has no indication that its plural is *avós*. *Celibato* means ‘celibacy’, not ‘celibate’. *Garção* is not feminine. Changes in the part of speech are completely disregarded in the alphabetical listing of subentries, e.g., “*cêrca* (*f.*) fence, . . . ; (*adv.*)—*de*, about, . . . —*de arame farpado*, barbed wire fence. —*de duas léguas*, a matter of two leagues (more or less) . . .”

Most of the longer entries are exceedingly mixed up, such as *estar*: it starts off as (*v.i.*), then (*v. aux.*), then (*m.*), then we get *bem*—and *mal*—(which are also listed as separate word entries with different glosses), then “Cf. *ficar*,” whatever that means, then subentries with *estar* as a verb. Throughout the dictionary, many subentries exemplify nothing, e.g., the last entry under *estar*: “*Se eu estivesse no seu lugar, não faria isso*, If I were in your place, I would not do that.” What does this show?

A worse fault than those of methodology can be traced to the literal translation of definitions in all-Portuguese dictionaries, instead of glossing with the English equivalent. For *multar*, we read "to impose a fine on; fig., to condemn." Why not "to fine"? For *endosso*, we read: "act of, or an, endorsement." Why not "endorsement"? Many of the articles on the flora, fauna, and Indian tribes of Brazil are of encyclopedic length, unsuitable to a dictionary of this size.

The author has set 60,000 as the ideal number of entries. The manner of selecting them by arbitrarily choosing from the 171,046 main entries in Freire and Campos' unabridged *Grande e Novíssimo Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* (1943)—"subjectively, but not altogether without some aid from informants" (p. x)—leaves much to be desired. In order to reach the predetermined number, the list had to be padded with words of little use to the average consultant: *adnexo* adnexed, *merogonia* merogony, *decúmano* decuman, *opopánax* opopanax, and many hundreds more. Yet such words as the following are missing: *sovaco* armpit, *ampério* ampere, *mata-tinta* ink eradicator, *fá D* (*note of scale*), the names of many countries, and most of the states of Brazil. Under existing entries, there are missing: under *grampo*, paper clip; under *tricô*, *fazer de tricô*, to knit; under *casa*, square (*of checkerboard, map, chart*); under *pasta*, (file) folder; under *fôlha*, the basic meaning 'leaf'. Many useful words could have been added, common words used every day, most of which are not to be found in all-Portuguese dictionaries, by leafing through any current Brazilian magazine or newspaper, e.g.: *alta-costura* haute couture; *Miss Miss* (*in beauty contests*); *fôrça-tarefa* task force; *girl chorus* girl; *cordoneis* tire cords; *living* living room; *recapagem* recapping; *autoguiado* self-guided; *mis-en-plis* finger wave. Missing glosses of existing entries are: *cabina de pressão nivelada* pressurized cabin; *painel* instrument panel; *matriz* home office; *tração dianteira* front wheel drive; *panela de pressão* pressure cooker; *espuma* lather.

This dictionary is not a refurbishing job on existing bilingual dictionaries, with a few neologisms added. Having no worthy bilingual dictionary to copy from, the author had the opportunity to start from scratch and not repeat the errors of predecessors. Writing a bilingual dictionary is something more than alphabetizing words and translating definitions. The bilingual lexicographer must devise a logical and consistent methodology, he must try to match the terms of the source language with the most exact equivalents in the target language, and he must pay particular attention to his sources.<sup>1</sup> In the present case, lexicographical procedures ill suited to the needs of English-speaking consultants were

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Edwin B. Williams, "The Problems of Bilingual Lexicography, Particularly as Applied to Spanish and English," *HR*, XXVII (1959), 246-253.



inconsistently adopted from all-Portuguese dictionaries, in many cases all-Portuguese definitions were translated verbatim, and some of the most important sources were not utilized.

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*Manuel Díaz Rodríguez. Vida y obra.* Por Lowell Dunham. (Colección Studium, 25.) Ediciones De Andrea, México, 1959: 92 págs.

*Breve historia de la novela mexicana.* Por John S. Brushwood y José Rojas Garcidueñas. (Manuales Studium, 9.) Ediciones De Andrea, México, 1959: 159 págs.

El libro del Dr. Dunham consta de cuatro capítulos y una bibliografía. En el capítulo I (págs. 5-22) el autor relata los hechos externos de la biografía de Díaz Rodríguez. Los capítulos II (págs. 25-54) y III (págs. 55-64) se titulan, respectivamente, "La obra de Manuel Díaz Rodríguez" y "Estilo." De las treinta y dos páginas del capítulo II, diecisiete están dedicadas a presentar los escritos en prosa de Díaz Rodríguez y unas trece a reproducir y comentar nueve sonetos del mismo. Las referidas diecisiete páginas son, en realidad, un centón de textos del propio Díaz Rodríguez y de algunos escritores que de él se han ocupado: Blanco Fombona, Bobadilla, Darío, Picón Febres, Ratcliff, Torres-Rioseco, etc., sin que el profesor Dunham se ocupe de analizar con el detalle que sería de desear las estructuras narrativa y descriptiva de las novelas, cuentos y relatos del autor venezolano ni la construcción de sus ensayos y discursos; apenas, con respecto a *Ídolos rotos*, dedica unas páginas—30 a 34, también entretrejidas de citas y referencias de Picón Febres, Julio Planchart, *Cultura venezolana*, y Díaz Rodríguez—al tema, a los personajes y a la posición del novelista frente a su novela. Las últimas trece páginas del mismo capítulo, aparte de los textos de los sonetos de Díaz Rodríguez, son una exégesis de dichos sonetos escrita en prosa de dudoso gusto: "La abeja ["Don Manuel es abeja que . . ." p. 40] sabe cuántas arrugas tiene la faz del cerro y cuándo cae sobre ésta la tiña incurable de las rozas . . ." (p. 41), o bien: ". . . Él [Díaz Rodríguez] puso la hormiga divina de su mente en la trocha del ensueño . . ." (p. 43). El capítulo III comienza con la afirmación de que el estilo es el principal mérito literario de Díaz Rodríguez. Por ello extraña que éste sea el capítulo más corto del estudio (nueve páginas y media). El Sr. Dunham se limita en él a algunas generalidades: la vocación de estilista de Díaz Rodríguez, su formación cultural, su purismo; la "graciosa alegría del francés" es uno de los elementos componentes del estilo de Díaz Rodríguez; "fue bastante influido por el modernismo"; en *Sangre patricia* "el estilo es adornado, abundoso

de imágenes, símiles y metáforas," etc., pero sin describir ni analizar específicamente la lengua de Díaz Rodríguez, sus figuras retóricas, su sistema de construcción, y sin determinar si nada de ello es congruente y coherente con el tema de la obra y con sus estructuras narrativa y descriptiva. No ya la estilística moderna, pero ni siquiera la vieja retórica y poética han sido puestas a contribución en el referido capítulo sobre el "Estilo" de Díaz Rodríguez; y ello es tanto más de lamentar cuanto que un estudio de tal clase sería del máximo interés debido a la importancia individual y generacional de dicho prosista. El capítulo IV, "Díaz Rodríguez y el criollismo" (págs. 65-84), ofrece una breve presentación de la historia del criollismo literario en Venezuela y tras de resumir los argumentos de *Peregrina* ("su mejor novela" [p. 75]), *Música bárbara*, *Égloga de verano* / *Las ovejas y las rosas del Padre Serafín*, / de hacer algunas referencias a muestras de criollismo en otros escritos de Díaz Rodríguez y de afirmar: "Puede decirse que Díaz Rodríguez dio sus mejores obras de ficción en el campo de la literatura criolla" y que: "... nadie negará que estas obras de carácter criollo son superiores a sus otros cuentos y novelas" (p. 77), termina anticlimáticamente expresando que: "Como artista y como pensador, Díaz Rodríguez contribuyó al movimiento criollista y lo alentó. Su contribución a ese movimiento no fue, empero, grande, ni podía serlo" (p. 83). Con lo cual no sabemos realmente a qué carta se queda el crítico en cuanto a la valoración del autor de que trata. Cierra el Sr. Dunham su libro con una útil "Bibliografía" (págs. 87-92) de la producción literaria de Díaz Rodríguez y de documentación y trabajos sobre él.

La *Breve historia de la novela mexicana* de los señores Brushwood y Rojas Garcidueñas consta de dos partes; la primera (págs. 5-67), a cargo del profesor norteamericano, presenta "La novela mexicana desde sus orígenes hasta fines del siglo XIX," y la segunda (págs. 71-148), de la que es autor el erudito mexicano, estudia "La novela mexicana contemporánea."

El Dr. Brushwood, tras una breve referencia a las "obras noveladas" de la época novohispana, estudia la novela del siglo XIX. Su problema es el de seleccionar los novelistas más representativos de cada uno de los distintos tipos de novela que distingue (p. 65), y lo hace en treinta y siete fichas sobre otros tantos autores, enlazadas por breves comentarios, precedidas de una nota preliminar y seguidas de otra de conclusiones. Algunos autores objeto de fichas en este trabajo, tales como Roa Bárcena, Rafael de Zayas Enríquez y Manuel H. San Juan no figuraban, por ejemplo, en la *Historia de la novela mexicana en el siglo XIX* del malogrado Ralph E. Warner. Y en las fichas referentes a Pizarro Suárez y a "Mierós" trata de novelas que Warner no había logrado ver. Vale esto decir que, en algunos casos, el Sr. Brushwood en sus notúculas llega a

complementar los informes contenidos en obras de mayor amplitud que la brevísima suya.

El profesor Rojas Garcidueñas inicia la parte del libro que le corresponde con una introducción clara y concisa sobre los problemas que le han presentado la compilación, la ordenación, la clasificación y la selección de sus materiales al objeto de dar en menos de setenta y cinco páginas un panorama de la novelística mexicana del Novecientos, y señala con igual claridad los criterios que le han guiado. La misma precisión distingue a las breves notas con que introduce cada una de las divisiones y subdivisiones del estudio. Y en noventa y una fichas dedicadas al mismo número de autores (muchas de las cuales son verdaderos y excelentes ensayos en miniatura), ofrece una utilísima guía a quien quiera iniciarse en la lectura y el estudio de la novela mexicana contemporánea. Puesto que desgraciadamente ello no es frecuente en cierto tipo de manuales que o bien tienden al constante panegírico o bien son meras bibliografías también sin crítica, debe señalarse aquí con elogio el hecho de que el Sr. Rojas Garcidueñas juzga las novelas, obras de ficción, de las que trata, con gran conocimiento de la historia del género y de los valores de la literatura. No es éste el menor servicio que su autor rinde en este libro que así, dentro de su carácter de manual de iniciación, cumple los fines de un orientador trabajo de crítica literaria.

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*The Argentine Novel in the Nineteenth Century.* By Myron I. Lichtblau. The Hispanic Institute in the United States, New York, 1959: 225 pages.

This volume aims to study the Argentine novel in the nineteenth century, its origin, its development, and the literary merit and significance of the works in question. Although the emphasis is on the second half of the century, the period encompassed loosely runs from 1840 to 1930. The long neglected romantic novel has been given special consideration.

The book is divided into eleven chapters: I. The Land and its History; II. The Background of the Argentine Novel; III. *Amalia* and the Rosas Era in Fiction; IV. The Historical Novels of Vicente Fidel López; V. The Development of the Romantic Novel after *Amalia* (Part one); VI. The Development of the Romantic Novel after *Amalia* (Part two); VII. The Decade of the Seventies; VIII. The Gaucho Novel; IX. The Development of Realism; X. Naturalism in the Argentine Novel; XI. Transition to the Twentieth Century—Conclusion. The first chapter (pp. 1-21) furnishes some fundamental notions about Argentina, the land, its history and its

development, especially from 1850 to 1860. Other pages tersely portray Argentine history and achievements of the 1870's (Chap. VI, pp. 101-105), and of the 1880's and 1890's (Chap. IX, pp. 138-143). Brief mention is made of the novel form in Latin America in the Colonial Period (Chap. II, pp. 22-23), and in the National Period, of the romantic novel (Chap. V, pp. 65-69), of the realistic novel (Chap. IX, pp. 136-137), and of the naturalistic novel (Chap. X, pp. 163-164). Additional material includes a chronological list of Argentine novels of the century, a catalog of reference sources, a bibliography of criticism chronologically arranged by authors studied, a general bibliography of the Argentine novel and Argentine literature, one of general reference works dealing with Argentine history and culture, plus another on Hispanic literature.

Dr. Lichtblau's study rests on the premise that there is a "national" novel, and that such a novel is the highest type, perhaps the only true novel. He reiterates throughout the work the idea that to be Argentine a novel should by definition contain specific Argentine elements, and regards national content as a *sine qua non* of the good novel. He claims that "the Argentine novel did not spring from a literary moment (*sic*), but arose by virtue of opportune conditions in the nation" (p. 201). He seems to have overlooked the rôle that forms of literary expression other than the novel (*costumbrista* sketch, legend, ballad, allegory, prose poem, short story, epic-narrative poetry) played in the origin and growth of that genre in Argentina. *Amalia*, he states, was the first Argentine novel; it and the others dealing with the Rosas period were born of political motives, emerged only after political freedom and relative stability were established, and "did not strictly follow one literary current, but selected elements from both romanticism and realism and fused them appropriately" (p. 201). The author's approach suffers from a certain lack of focus. It may, for example, be political ("*Amalia* and the Rosas Era in Fiction"), pay direct attention to a subgenre ("The Historical Novels of Vicente Fidel López"), be chronological ("Decade of the Seventies"), place the emphasis on literary currents ("The Development of the Romantic Novel after *Amalia*"), or it may be thematic ("The Gaucho Novel"). In recognizing the debt the Argentine novel owes to the nineteenth-century French currents in fiction, Dr. Lichtblau emphasizes the latter's relatively late arrival in Argentina, with consequent superimposition of one upon another. He further points out that the genre came of age with the realistic and naturalistic writers of the 1880's; that its development was due, not to the monopoly of a few authors, but to a relatively few individual contributions of large numbers of authors; and that the novelists' thematic perspective gradually swung from the country to the city as the century progressed.

Notwithstanding the shortcomings cited, and others doubtless attributable to the doctoral-thesis status of the work, Dr. Lichtblau has given us an interesting and useful book on a theme which, for all its importance, has long been wanting serious attention. He introduces the reader to the whole gamut of the nineteenth-century Argentine novelists, including a host of long forgotten romantic writers. His fieldwork in Argentina has turned up worthwhile biographical and bibliographical data. Of his appendices, the most valuable is his chronological list of all the Argentine novels of the century in question.

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*Las revistas literarias de Hispanoamérica.* By Boyd G. Carter. (Colección Studium, 24). Ediciones de Andrea, Mexico, 1959: 228 pages.

For the Hispanoamericanist who uses periodical sources, this book provides genuine excitement. The wealth of material combines with Dr. Carter's comments to make the book a guided tour through research possibilities. The basic intent is, of course, a far more serious one. It is meant to be a research tool, and a sure evaluation cannot be made until its usefulness has been tested over a period of time. In my opinion it is the most important contribution to Spanish-American literary scholarship in the last ten to fifteen years.

Part One (74 pp.) is an explanation of the importance of literary reviews and of newspapers in Spanish-American literature. Specific examples illustrate the role played by the periodical press in the development of literature, and the difficulties inherent in the use of these materials for research purposes are discussed. This first part shows the inadequacy of research carried on without recourse to reviews, and should serve to encourage more complete research in the field.

In Part Two (109 pp.), Dr. Carter has offered "pequeños estudios" of fifty literary reviews. These brief profiles consist of (1) the bibliographical data and at least one location, (2) the purpose of the review as stated by the editors, (3) a list of contributors, (4) an indication of the emphasis of the review and a notation of particular features, (5) a selected list of titles of general interest, and (6) a commentary by the author. This part of the book will be of inestimable service to the scholar who is looking for the works of a particular writer, or to the scholar who is dealing with a particular topic and wonders if a given review may be worth his investigation. While many countries are represented among the reviews included, the selection is heavily weighted in favor of Mexico. This fact will undoubtedly produce some unfavorable reaction; but I suspect it is the result of limitations inherent in the preparation of such a work by one

man rather than any prejudice on the part of the author. The selection includes most of the well known reviews in Spanish-America, plus more than a few that are not at all well known but are eminently deserving of study.

The third and last major part (71 pp.) is a selected bibliography, including locations, of titles from one hundred and twenty-five reviews. The entries are arranged alphabetically within subject-matter divisions and constitute a useful guide for scholars. The only valid complaint that one could make of Parts Two and Three would take the form of a request for more, rather than an objection to what the author has given us.

The fourth part is a general bibliography. It is, in my opinion, less valuable than the rest of the book; but certainly it is a convenient catalog of essentials for research in the field, and it should be particularly helpful to the young scholar. It even contains a list of works dealing with pseudonyms.

My enthusiasm for Professor Carter's book arises from some very serious doubts I hold about the value of scholarship in Spanish-American literature at this time. It seems to me that study in this field has proceeded too often as if the basic research had already been done. We have given entirely too much consideration to too few writers, and sometimes to limited aspects of those writers, and even without access to all works of the writer studied. At the same time, some very good writers have been almost completely ignored; we might even wish to revise our list of major writers if our research were more complete. Dr. Carter has indicated the right direction not only by the content of his book, but by the example he has set in preparing it. Perhaps he has set in motion a trend which will see a coming-of-age in the field.

Basic research avails little if the results are not printed. It is not easy to persuade a publisher to reproduce bibliographical material and this fact has been one of the hindrances to improvement of scholarship in Spanish-American materials. We should not ignore the contribution made by Pedro F. de Andrea as the publisher of this book. If our scholarly efforts have any meaning outside the ivory tower, the author and publisher may well be repaid for their work and risk in the coin of better understanding among Americans.

J. S. BRUSHWOOD

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## BRIEFER MENTION

*El Lazarillo de Tormes (Alcalá de Henares, Burgos y Amberes, 1554).*  
“. . . la fonte que mana y corre . . .,” (Obras fuera de Serie), Cieza,  
1959: xv pages + 46 folios + 47 folios and one leaf + 48 folios.

Don Antonio Pérez Gómez, Director of the Series “. . . la fonte que mana y corre . . .,” realizing the need of reexamining the bibliographical and textual problems posed by the *Lazarillo* in accordance with the most modern philological standards, has happily decided to make readily available in facsimile to all investigators the first three known editions, to the end that we may eventually have a synoptic edition which will supersede Foulché-Delbosc's effort at reconstruction of the lost princeps (*Bibliotheca Hispanica*, 1900).

The triple facsimile edition here reviewed was issued in an impression of 355 copies “al cuidado de María Amparo y Vicente Soler.” Enrique Moreno Báez in his “Noticia bibliográfica” reviews the present state of studies on the textual history of the *Lazarillo*.

O. H. G.

*Sonetos a illustres varones deste felicissimo y catholico exercito y Corte de su Excelencia.* Dirigidos al Ilustr. Señor Don Diego Aluarnos [sic] d. Toledo Condestable de Nauarra, por Diego Ximenez Ayllon de la Ciudad de Arcos, do [sic] la Frontera en Andaluzia. En Anvers . . . , 1569. Facsim., Valencia, 1959.

This thin book of sonnets, reproduced in facsimile from the unique unpaginated copy in the Library of the Ayuntamiento de Valencia by Antonio Pérez Gómez, though the work of a very humble poet (and badly printed), bears eloquent testimony to the “esfuerso fuerça y fortaleza” (Sn. a Monsiuer de Beobues) with which the Spanish nation sought to fulfill its mission in the ideological war which was to culminate in 1588 and which the historian Garret Mattingly has called “the first great international crisis in modern history” (*The Armada*, Boston, 1959, p. vi). It congratulates new appointees, celebrates victories, laments defeats in the struggle against “Las fuerças y el poder del Luterano” (Sn. al Governador Gaspar de Robles). Its place names are a catalogue of the actions of Spanish arms in the European and Mediterranean theaters, and it ends with a *Soneto a la infanteria Española*: “La fortaleza vuestro [sic] y disciplina/ Que en la Millicia vsais en mar y ã tierra/ Espanto y temor

pone en qualquier gēte." Spain is the modern Rome (A don Fadrique de Toledo). Using Justice and clemency, she will yet strike down the proud (Al gran Prior de Castilla), "teniendo a Christo de delante" (id.). Ximénez Ayllón's book could serve as a starting point for a semantic study showing that *prudencia* and *esfuerzo* were regarded as balancing traits in the perfect captain. Humble as it is, this addition to the series "... la fonte que mana y corre ..." worthily commemorates the first ten years of the "vida editorial" of the series.

O. H. G.

*Vn pedaço de historia de lo sucedido en Çaragoça de Aragon, à 24. de setiembre, del año de 1591.* [Por] Antonio Pérez. (Pau, 1591). (Duque y Marqués. Opúsculos literarios rarísimos, núm. 14.) "... la fonte que mana y corre ..." Valencia, 1959: xxii + 131 pages.

The Series Duque y Marqués, directed by Don Antonio Pérez Gómez, offers in this volume its first "obra de carácter histórico" (p. xx). It is a work, however, certainly tangential to Spanish literature,<sup>1</sup> being the "texto primitivo, casi como si dijéramos el 'borrador' de dos de las famosas *Relaciones* del Secretario de Felipe II, Antonio Pérez" (p. ix). The "Noticia bibliográfica" by Sr. Pérez Gómez gives the necessary facts concerning this extremely rare booklet, now in his possession. Inasmuch as the style of Antonio Pérez's *Relaciones* has been thought to have influenced even English prose style in the early seventeenth century, a stylistic study of its evolution from this primitive and simple-enough redaction (written in white heat) to the final one (written with artfully cunning obscurity)<sup>2</sup> would be of great interest. Unfortunately, this book has been reset, not reproduced in facsimile; it might be desirable to check by microfilm such a sentence as this (p. 26): "Entres ótras cosas *particulares* que sucedieron este die . . ." (italics mine). There are two appendices. One reproduces anonymous compositions published during the riots in Zaragoza; the other, a "Discovrs av vray, des trovles n'agveres aduenus au Royaume d'Aragon," which appears to be a reply to Antonio Pérez's *Vn pedaço* . . .

O. H. G.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. H. Green, *The Life and Works of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola*, Philadelphia, 1927, chaps. IV, X, XIV; idem, "The Lucianesque Dialogues of Bartholomé Leonardo de Argensola," *HR*, III (1935), 275-294; idem, *Bartholomé Leonardo de Argensola y el Reino de Aragón*, separata del *Archivo de filología aragonesa*, IV (1952), 7-111.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O. H. Green, "Cuerpo y alma en la *Carta a un gran personaje* (postdata a *AFA* IV, 32-37)," *Archivo de filología aragonesa*, VIII-IX (1958), 175-177.



*El Madrid de Moratín.* By Joaquín de Entrambasaguas. (Temas madrileños, XX.) Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1960: 38 pages.

In a walk through old Madrid, the Madrid of the time of Charles III which is vividly and nostalgically evoked, the author takes the reader by all the houses or sites of houses where Moratín lived from his birth on the corner of Santa María and the street then called San Juan but now named after the poet, to the site of the house on Preciados, near Desengaño, which he made over for himself with great care and where he lived until he fled to Valencia at the end of the French occupation. The walk takes us by the parish church where Moratín was christened on February 12, 1760, the Church of San Sebastián, the baroque façade of which gave many a nightmare to neo-classic critics, and by the theatre now called the Teatro Español where his first play, *El viejo y la niña*, was produced in 1790, and two years later his sensational parody of the contemporary extravagant plays, *La comedia nueva*, and finally in 1812, his free translation of Molière's *L'Ecole des Maris*.

One of the houses where he lived during his adolescence, a handsome eighteenth-century mansion which still stands, might well be used, Sr. Entrambasaguas suggests, as a Moratín Museum that would be at the same time a museum of eighteenth-century Madrid. It was here that his father's friend, Ignacio Bernascone, lived too and that young Moratín fell in love with the beautiful daughter, a girl of fifteen, whom the family married off to Juan Bautista Conti, then almost fifty. The beautiful Sabina Bernascone was to be the model for the heroine of Moratín's first comedy and almost twenty years later for the young girl in *El Sí de las niñas* who is about to be married to an older man against her inclinations but who in this play is finally saved from such a fate. The deep disappointment in love the young Moratín experienced at twenty found expression again and again in the plays he wrote over these many years. Sr. Entrambasaguas recreates the world and life of Moratín during the half century he lived in Madrid, before he left as an *afrancesado* to spend his last years in France.

E. F. H.

*Una venganza feliz.* Por Manuel López Lorenzo. Una obra desconocida del teatro hispano-americano. Edited by Alfredo A. Roggiano. (State University of Iowa Studies in Spanish Language and Literature, No. 11.) México, Editorial Cultura, 1958; 127 pages.

In this excellently edited volume Dr. Roggiano has brought from obscurity a one-act play in verse by the Argentine Manuel López Lorenzo (1842-1883). A prodigious amount of first-hand research is evident in

this judicious and well-documented study. The forty-page text of the play is preceded by a valuable introduction, divided into three sections. The first presents an historical and cultural view of the city of Chivilcoy (some hundred miles west of Buenos Aires), which proudly numbers López Lorenzo among its most illustrious citizens. It was for a cultural organization of Chivilcoy, the Orfeón, that López Lorenzo wrote *Una venganza feliz*, presented in that city on October 17, 1872. In the second section Dr. Roggiano provides a revealing biography of López Lorenzo. Born in Spain in 1842, he arrived in Buenos Aires as a young man in 1864, and later took up permanent residence in Chivilcoy, where he gained a distinguished reputation as a teacher and mentor of the youth of that city and in general played a leading role in shaping its cultural and political life. As orator and journalist he defended individual liberty, opposed the dictatorial "caudillos," and supported Bartolomé Mitre in his struggle to win political autonomy for local governments. Completing the introductory material, the third section offers an annotated chronological list of literary works published by López Lorenzo, among them *Corona poética, o Cantares patrióticos a los héroes de Callao* (1866), and *Camila O'Gorman: Leyenda histórica americana del siglo XIX* (1870). In this introduction the editor has shown meticulous scholarship and sound artistic judgment.

*Una venganza feliz* is a belated example of romantic drama in Hispanic America. The nature of the plot, the shallowness of motivation, the exaltation of emotion, the lachrymose sentimentality—all combine to produce an aura of sheer romanticism. López Lorenzo is a facile poet who writes in clear and forceful verse. With this volume the State University of Iowa has added an important work to its fine collection of studies in Hispanic literature.

MYRON I. LICHTBLAU

*Syracuse University*

*Repertorio bibliográfico de los archivos mexicanos y de los europeos y norteamericanos de interés para la historia de México.* By Agustín Millares Carlo. (Biblioteca Nacional de México. Instituto Bibliográfico Mexicano, I.) México, 1959: xxix + 366 pages.

Many years have passed since the publication of the *Manuel de Hispanisant* by R. Foulché-Delbosc and L. Barrau-Dihigo. Though clearly oriented toward Mexico, and without any special interest in literature and the arts, this bibliography will prove of interest and value to readers of the *Hispanic Review*. Its coverage of works which the student even of Peninsular Spanish literature should know is gratifyingly complete and competent. The book should be leaved through, item by item, *a lo que*

*salga*. An example is no. 161: Ilustre Colegio Notarial de Madrid. *La vida privada española en el protocolo notarial . . . siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII. . .* Con un estudio preliminar de don Agustín G. de Amezúa y Mayo. Madrid, 1950, xli + 442 pp. A few topics: Cualidad jurídica del individuo; El Matrimonio; La Casa; El Patrimonio; La Muerte y la Paz. . . . There are entries concerning: Calderón; Sor Marcela (daughter of Lope de Vega); Cervantes; Vélez de Guevara; Guillén de Castro; Ereilla; Lope himself. . . .

O. H. G.

*Colombia y Suecia. Relaciones culturales.* By Gabriel Giraldo Jaramillo. Instituto Ibero-Americano de Gotemburgo. Madrid, 1960. 170 pages.

At least until recently, relations between Colombia and Sweden have been neither frequent nor intense, and seldom literary or artistic. The distinguished botanist José Celestino Mutis corresponds with Linnaeus, is commemorated in the genus *Mutisia*, and himself commemorates a Swede in the naming of *Alstroemeria*;<sup>1</sup> Count Adlercreutz plays an active rôle in the war of independence and the first days of the republic; Swedish travelers record their observations, Swedes share in the exploitation of mineral deposits, and so forth. In the same attractive format as the earlier publications of the Institute, this readable account of such endeavors is in all respects a creditable performance; though to be sure of less direct profit to readers of the *Hispanic Review* than preceding studies on Calderón, Alfonso Reyes, and Jorge Luis Borges, or forthcoming ones on García Lorca and Juan Ramón Jiménez.

Perhaps the most extraordinary fact about it is its existence. Subsidized by the Monark Company, just as Gustav Fredén's essay on Calderón (*La cena del amor*, 1954) was subsidized by SKF, *Los momentos históricos de América* (1956) by Göteborgs Bank, and the two volumes on the botanist Loefling (1957) by the Venezuelan government, *Colombia y Suecia* is one more example of the Institute's ability to harmonize the two aspects of its declared "orientación al mismo tiempo práctica y cultural," and one more evidence of a civilized conception of self interest that is not the least claim of the Swedish people to our regard. Happily, it is a conception by no means absent in the United States. But I am not sure that our universities' schools of business, let alone our manufacturers of ball bearings, are yet ready to underwrite Calderón.

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<sup>1</sup> The identification of *Astromelia* (sic) with *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis* or *Hibiscus javanicus* (page 47) is absurd. Otherwise there are few misprints or readily detectible errors.

*Nuestra América. Notas de historia cultural.* By Germán Posada Mejía. (Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, XIV.) Bogotá, 1959: 369 pages.

The author, a Colombian, has gathered together his essays and articles prepared between 1946 and 1955 at El Colegio de México and at the Instituto Caro y Cuervo at Bogotá and published in various journals. Organized into two parts and an *anexo*, the first and more interesting contains eight agreeably written essays, half being panoramic surveys of the colonial centuries of Mexico and Colombia and the other half studies of individual figures including Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora of New Spain, and Jacobo de Villaurrutia and the chronicler Manuel del Campo y Rivas of New Granada. The second part reproduces bibliographical and documentary articles on Colombian historians, while the brief pieces of the *anexo* are mainly short book reviews. Synthesis rather than analysis is the effect of these contributions which apparently served as a kind of apprenticeship for a larger task of discerning *la idea de América*, seemingly not yet undertaken. As such they are commendable and useful additions to the bibliography of colonial cultural history.

IRVING A. LEONARD

*The Brazilian Othello of Machado de Assis: A Study of Dom Casmurro.* By Helen Caldwell. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960: 194 pages.

Dr. Caldwell has written an illuminating new interpretation of *Dom Casmurro*, which she also earlier translated with distinction. This is one of the great novels of Latin America as well as one of the most cryptic, for Machado has left to the reader the judgment of his two main characters. Dr. Caldwell's thesis rests on a demonstration of the author's "plagiarism" from *Othello*: Bento Santiago (a combination of Iago and Othello) is no less the destroyer of his wife, the innocent Capitú, than was the Moor of Desdemona. In the symbolic interpretation, "Capitú is pure Portuguese womanhood, love incarnate struggling against self-love (Casmurro) for the soul (Bento) of Santiago" (p. 95), not the embodiment of feminine guile and sensuality, as commonly held. Dr. Caldwell's insight is bolstered by hundreds of bits of evidence, some far-fetched if not dubious, but in the aggregate convincing and bespeaking a sound critical method. Her study is delightfully written and is dramatic in its own right, especially in the defense of Capitú. Brazilian critics should welcome this interpretation which shows new facets of Machado's art and lifts a novel that has been considered merely a fine psychological study to the level of true tragedy.

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